EQUALITY

THE AMERICAN WAY

UAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Was Stabbed By an Anti-Semite

AN AFFIDAVIT

WHAT EVERY CATHOLIC SHOULD KNOW

The Catholic Bishops OR Father Coughlin?

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Concentration Camps in America

OL. 1, No. 2 Fifteen Cents JUNE, 1939

EQUALITY

A MONTHLY JOURNAL TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM AND RACISM

VOL. 1 JUNE, 1939 No. 2

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Published monthly and copyright by the Editorial Council of Equality, 220 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. Single Copies, 15c. Subscription $1.50 a year. Application for second class entry is pending.

Printed in U. S. A.

ASTORIA PRESS, N. Y. C. 490

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VERA CASPARY, author of *White Girl* and *Thicker Than Water*, has just completed a tour of Europe and has brought back much valuable material which will be incorporated in future articles in *Equality*.

ALBERT DEUTSCH, a member of *Equality's* editorial council, is a social historian specializing in American history. He is the author of *The Mentally Ill in America: A History of Their Care and Treatment*.

DANIEL FUCHS, author of *Low Company*, is among the more prominent young novelists and short story writers in America.

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The Editorial Council of *Equality* mourns the recent death of one of its ablest and devoted co-workers in the struggle for Democracy and Freedom—ERNST TOLLER.

Equality welcomes contributions from journalists and writers. Manuscripts should be accompanied by stamped and self-addressed envelopes. Address all communications to *Equality*, 220 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

EQUALITY A Monthly Journal to Defend Democratic Rights and Combat Anti-Semitism and Racism.

WHAT EVERY CATHOLIC SHOULD KNOW

ALBERT DEUTSCH

Anti-Catholicism in America. The Catholic Stake in the Fight for Tolerance.

THE WELL-NIGH boundless credulity of man amuses when it does not appall. There are still many good citizens of this land who jump when they overhear one Irishman greet another with a cheery "Hello, Mac," for they're sure that MAC is a secret password of an international conspiracy to Make America Catholic. Reuben Maury tells the story of an incident that occurred in North Manchester, Indiana, in the fall of 1923. A practical joker spread the word through this town that the Pope had decided to live there incognito while his residence in Washington was being prepared for occupancy and arrangements were completed for turning over the United States Government to him. According to the report, His Holiness was to arrive at North Manchester by train that very evening. That night fifteen hundred curious persons lined up at the railroad station to see the Pope come in!

Such stories reflect the lighter aspects of man's credulity. There are far graver ones reflected in the pages of our history. Those pages have much to teach us, if men would but learn. And men could learn much from the historical backgrounds of religious prejudice and persecution in this country.

It may seem unbelievable to many that anti-Catholicism in America, historically considered, has been attended with more violence than anti-Semitism. Yet this fact has long been known to students of American history, Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

One has but to scan the record of intolerance and hatred to find that all the scurrilous libels, the lies, the subtle innuendos and the brazen effrontories now leveled at the Jews by the enemies of democracy, were at one time or another used against the Catholics, as they still are today. In substance they have been the same, differing only in form. Anti-Catholic or anti-Semite, they were fished out of the same murky cesspool of intolerance. At times they have been utilized only to stir up religious discord; at other times clever conspirators aiming at nothing less than the destruction of our democratic institutions have used them for purposes far more sinister. Unfortunately, at all times there have been men, honest and sincere, who have accepted these falsehoods largely because the real truth was out of their reach.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

Today the sowers of discord rant about the "international Jew." Only yesterday it was the "international Catholic." Today they raise the bogey of "Jewish bolshevism;" yesterday it was "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." Today attacks on the foreign-born are coupled with anti-Semitism; throughout most of our history the Irish-Catholic was singled out in the anti-foreign offensive. Today we see the wide circulation of the crude "Franklin forgery," purporting to show that Benjamin Franklin did not like Jews, just as the past six decades have seen the circulation of the bogus "Lincoln letter" purporting to show that Abraham Lincoln feared and distrusted the Catholics. Both forgeries have been repudiated time and again by authoritative historians, but they still circulate.

The Jew has been charged with being unable to assimilate in America; so has the Catholic. In our time a well-known inventor, Henry Ford, becomes the naive purveyor of anti-Semitic falsehoods, just as a century ago the equally well-known Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph, circulated far and wide throughout America his "discovery" of an international Catholic "plot" to capture the country.

America is warned that the Jew is trying to embroil us in a foreign conflict, just as the Catholics

were accused of seeking to entangle us on the side of the Irish revolt against British oppression. Today the forged "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" are used by Father Coughlin, among others, to spread the seeds of anti-Semitism, a service effectively rendered in the anti-Catholic crusade by "The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk," written by a self-styled ex-nun who was exposed as a fraud. The list of analogies could be continued ad infinitum; those we have mentioned will suffice for our purpose. All the weapons of the fomenters of religious dissension—forgeries, shameless lies, distortions and misrepresentations, manufactured plots, salacious rumors, and so on — have been indiscriminately used against Jews and Catholics alike. More often than not, if you scratch an anti-Catholic, you'll find an anti-Semite, and vice versa. The peddlers of prejudice have usually carried both anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic wares on their sales counters, although sometimes they have found it more profitable to peddle one brand at a time.

Neither these facts nor those that follow are intended in any way to cast reflection either on Protestants or Protestantism. It is well to keep in mind that this land, which is and always has been predominantly Protestant in its religious composition, was the pioneer in the establishment of religious equality. Protestant leaders have always stood in the advanced ranks of fighters for complete tolerance. The vast majority of Protestant citizens, like true Americans of all faiths, have been opposed to all organized displays of prejudice as unfair and un-American. In view of the preponderance of Protestants in our population, however, it was inevitable that movements directed against religious minorities should have a Protestant tinge.

Throughout our history the doctrines and policies of the Roman Catholic Church — like those of all religions — have been subjected to sincere and honest criticisms. This has been especially true in the case of Church policies that impinge on political and social questions. With these honest criticisms we are not here concerned: this article deals with those manifestations of anti-Catholicism that can be laid directly to the door of prejudice, intolerance and bigotry.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN THE COLONIES

There is a widely prevalent notion that the first settlers, many of whom were fleeing from persecution in the Old World, immediately planted on the soil of the New World the sturdy tree of religious liberty, the fruits of which could be enjoyed by all those who followed. This notion is not in accord with historical fact. Religious intolerance was rampant in the Colonies. This is not said in disparagement of the founding fathers: their actions must be interpreted in the light of their own times, and the founding of the Colonies coincided with a period of devastating religious warfare throughout Europe. Along with their worldly goods, they brought with them the ideas and prejudices of the home country, and these they transplanted in their new homes, modified somewhat in accordance with their new surroundings.

Religious toleration was still for the most part an untried experiment; religious equality was still a fantastic dream of the future.* The different sects regarded one another with hostility and suspicion. Upon landing on Plymouth Rock in 1620, the Pilgrims, themselves the victims of persecution, immediately set up their own religion as the State Church, and excluded all others from their domain. The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay drove out the Baptist Roger Williams and other dissenters, and hanged some Quakers as heretics. Now regarded as one of the most peaceful on earth, the Quakers were then reviled and feared as "furious fanatics" conspiring to overthrow the constituted government. The Prelatists who formed the established church of Virginia, rigorously excluded dissenters or placed them under severe disabilities. Rhode Island, Maryland and Pennsylvania were the first colonies to adopt the principle of religious tolerance.

Everywhere else both "Papist" and Jew were excluded or discriminated against. The intensity and extent of anti-Catholicism in the Colonies could hardly be believed, if it were not for irrefutable documentary proof. In several colonies Catholic ecclesiastics were strictly proscribed. They were banished if found, and subject to a death penalty if they dared to return. In Massachusetts, the penalty for harboring a Catholic priest was a 200-pound fine, one-half of which went to the informer. No Catholic mass could be publicly celebrated in any of the British colonies save Pennsylvania. Even in Maryland, after it passed out of Catholic control, masses could be said only in private. In those

* Toleration and equality are not strictly synonymous. The first implies mere sufferance by the dominant religion of private or public worship by other sects. Religious equality means the absolute neutrality of the civil government in all matters of religion.

colonies where their presence was tolerated, Catholics were disfranchised and excluded from public offices. In Virginia, "Popish recusants" were also forbidden to possess lands or to give evidence in a law court. Elsewhere they were barred from the militia and forbidden to bear arms. By 1716, even that birth-place of freedom of conscience, Rhode Island, denied Catholics the rights of citizenship.

November 5th, the anniversary of the discovery of the Catholic Gunpowder Plot against James First of England (Guy Fawkes Day), was regularly commemorated as "Pope Day" in New England. On this day effigies of the Pope and the Devil were carried side by side in parades, and then burned in the public square. This practice was ended in 1776 by George Washington who, upon hearing that New England troops were preparing to celebrate "Pope Day," denounced this affront to their Catholic comrades-in-arms and forbade its observance.

Rumors were constantly running through the Colonies of dreadful "Popish plots." Catholics were often suspected of conspiring with Indian tribes or Negro slaves to "cut the throats of Protestants."

Among the victims of that shameful incident in Colonial New York known as the "Negro Plot" of 1741 was a harmless individual named John Ury, suspected of being a Catholic priest in disguise. A series of fires had convinced the panicky inhabitants of the city (where one-sixth of the total population of 12,000 were Negroes) that a slave revolt had begun. As a result of a farcical trial, a number of Negroes were executed, many more were transported, and innocent John Ury was convicted and hanged "for being an ecclesiastical person, made by the authority pretended from the See of Rome, and being one of the conspirators in the Negro Plot."

PROGRESS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

The end of the Revolution and the setting up of the American Republic marked the inauguration of an epoch of freedom and democracy such as the world had not hitherto known. Many of the old prejudices and discriminations were swept into the discard; others were mitigated in varying degrees. Tremendous strides were made toward the realization of religious liberty. A clause providing that "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," was embodied in the Federal Constitution and ratified in 1789. The first of the ten amendments known as the Bill of Rights adopted in 1791, read: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Nowhere in the world up to that time had such a sweeping declaration of civil and religious liberties been adopted by a people as those guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, which stands as the cornerstone of our democracy.

But while the Constitutional guarantees of full liberty of mind, conscience and worship marked a great milestone in the path upwards towards religious equality, a long distance yet remained to be traversed before the final goal could be reached. An ideal had been set, but its practical application proved very difficult, requiring a protracted and sometimes bloody struggle to realize even in part. Ingrained prejudices are not easily erased by statutes; and of all the prejudices of man those revolving around religion seem to die the hardest.

The Federal Government had formally adopted the principle of complete neutrality in matters of religion as far as it was concerned, but it made no similar strictures on the state governments. The several states were left free to decide for themselves how much of the principle of religious equality they cared to adopt. The end of the Revolution had marked the downfall of the established church in nearly every state, and the introduction of complete toleration. But many restrictions on religious freedom still remained.

In only two states, Rhode Island and Virginia, was full and perfect religious freedom granted by law. Nearly all the original state constitutions contained some discriminatory provision against Jews and Catholics.

It is a significant fact that the anti-Catholic activities in the post-Revolutionary period were largely stirred up by the reactionary Tories in the Federalist party. These Tories had been mainly responsible for the discriminatory clauses against Catholics adopted by the various state legislatures. It was they who pushed through the infamous Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.

The first prosecution under the Alien and Sedition Acts was that of Matthew Lyon, an Irish immigrant who had become a member of Congress and was an outspoken defender of democratic principles. He was sentenced to jail for four months, and a heavy fine was imposed on him. In Philadelphia, a mob of Federalists beat up Catholics

soliciting signatures for a petition seeking the repeal of the oppressive laws. Needless to say, the repeal of the obnoxious Alien and Sedition Acts speedily followed Jefferson's inauguration in 1801, and one of his first acts was to pardon and release all persons convicted or awaiting trial under these laws. The immigrant population, largely Catholic at the time and composing for the most part the poorer classes, saw clearly that their interests lay on the side of liberal democracy and against the reactionary elements who scorned and distrusted them, and they rallied almost unanimously to the Jeffersonian cause. Thus was laid the foundation for a liberal tradition that has been generally followed by the Catholic masses in America ever since.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY: POLITICAL ANTI-CATHOLICISM

For many years following the Jefferson administration there was little open manifestation of anti-foreign or anti-Catholic sentiment. But in the 1830's a violent anti-Catholic movement sprang up, coinciding, strangely enough, with anti-Masonic outbreaks. In 1831 a Catholic church in New York City was deliberately fired and burned. A pronounced anti-Catholic wave swept Boston, where the ruling conservative elements were apprehensive of the increasing numbers of Irish immigrants in and around the sacred city. The frenzy broke loose on August 11, 1834, when a mob of some five or six hundred, inflamed by a false rumor that a nun was being kept prisoner in the Ursuline convent at Charlestown, descended on the convent, sacked it from cellar to roof, drove out the terrorized nuns, and burned the institution to the ground.

The anti-Catholic movement found political expression with the organization in New York City of the Native American Party in 1835. Its major principles included opposition to office-holding by foreign-born persons, drastic restriction of immigration, and antagonism toward the Roman Catholic Church. One of the prominent leaders of this party was Samuel F. B. Morse, who invented the electric telegraph. The rabid anti-Catholicism of this famous inventor bears curious analogies to the anti-Semitism espoused nearly a century later by Henry Ford, in his book, "The International Jew." In 1835, Morse published a book entitled, "Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States," which was a best seller, going into many editions over a long span of years.

Morse thought he saw in the organization of the Leopold Society, intended to promote Roman Catholic missionary work in the United States, a sinister plot to seize control of the political and social structure of this country and to hand it over to the Pope. Thoroughly frightened, he urged the immediate formation of a political organization to combat the "conspiracy," and proposed the following manifesto for such a party:

> "Popery is a Political system despotic in its organization, anti-democratic and anti-republican, and cannot therefore co-exist with American republicanism. . . .
>
> "The dominance of Popery in the United States is the certain destruction of our free institutions. . . .
>
> "Popery, by its organization, is wholly under the control of a Foreign Despotic Sovereign. . . .
>
> "Popery is more dangerous and more formidable than any power in the United States, on the ground that through its despotic organization, it can concentrate its efforts for any purpose, with complete effect, and that organization being wholly under foreign control, it can have no real sympathy with anything American. The funds and intellect, and intriguing experience of all Papal and Despotic Europe, by means of agents at this moment organized throughout our land, can, at any time, be brought in aid of the enterprises of foreign powers in this country."

Change a few words here and there, and you have essentially the same bogey of the Jewish "world conspiracy" charged against the Jews by Father Coughlin, with subtle finesse, and by others, more openly.

MARIA MONK'S "CONFESSIONS"

Further fuel was poured on the flames of anti-Catholic prejudice during this period by the appearance in 1835 of the "Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk," the alleged confessions of a nun at the Hotel Dieu in Montreal, where she was supposedly forced to engage in unspeakable immoralities. Investigation later proved that "Maria Monk" was a woman of dubious occupation who had never seen the inside of the convent she described; she died in 1845 in a prison where she had been sentenced for prostitution. But her pamphlet

sold in enormous quantities, and may still be found today on the counters of some bookshops. It was the forerunner of many similar "confessions" of escaped nuns.

The nativist movement received a sharp rebuke from President Andrew Jackson in 1836, when he named Roger B. Taney as chief justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. Taney, the first Roman Catholic to be elevated to the Supreme Court, was then a leading exponent of Jacksonian democracy, and his appointment was met with the same vicious opposition of the prejudiced that greeted the appointments of Brandeis and Frankfurter in more recent times.

The 1840's witnessed a heightening of anti-Catholic, anti-foreign sentiment in America. Feeling ran so high in New York City that on election day of 1842 a mob invaded the Irish district, driving the inhabitants before it, and then stoned the windows of the Catholic bishop's residence. Militiamen had to be called to guard the Catholic churches from destruction.

Terrible anti-Catholic riots broke out in Philadelphia in 1844. The churches of St. Michael's and St. Augustine's were reduced to ashes by Native American mobs; the Augustinian Fathers' Library was ransacked and five thousand volumes were burned in a huge bon-fire reminiscent of the Nazi burning of the books; a nunnery and a large number of houses in the poorer Irish section of town were burned, and several men who tried to defend their dwellings were shot down and killed. Bishop Kendrick was forced to suspend worship in all Catholic churches in Philadelphia, and public masses were not held for several weeks. On July 7th, a mob attacked St. Philip Neri's church, but this time the militia which had stood idly by as St. Michael's was burned, chose to defend the church, and a number of rioters were shot dead.

THE KNOW-NOTHINGS

The dreadful potato-blight famine in Ireland and the failure of the democratic revolt in Germany in the later 1840's brought millions of refugees to these shores within a brief decade. This tremendous wave of immigration had the effect of stimulating the nativist movement into greater activity. The Native American party was organized on a national basis in 1845, adopting as major planks in its platform a rabid declaration against the menace of foreign invasion and Roman Catholicism, and a recommendation that the naturalization laws be changed to require 21 years residence for citizenship. By 1852 there were some sixty different nativist secret societies in New York City and Brooklyn alone. Large numbers of similar societies existed throughout the country, united in one common aim: opposition to foreigners and Roman Catholics. Several of the more powerful groups merged into one movement in 1852 under the grandiose title of the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner.*

This secret order became known as the "Know-Nothings," because its members were required to answer "I don't know" to all questions concerning the movement. In many respects it formed the model for the twentieth-century Ku Klux Klan, playing up racial and religious prejudices, skilfully interwoven with a complicated tracery of mystical ritual. Its membership comprised native-born non-Catholics bound by oath to stand together against the foreign-born and all Roman Catholics, whether native or alien. Like all organizations of its kind, it mingled the worst kinds of bigoted fulminations with protestations of the purest of ideals.

The Know-Nothing movement spread like wildfire through the country, claiming a membership of a million within a short time. On the political front it became so powerful as to lead to fears that it would capture the government. Know-Nothing candidates in 1854 swept the elections in many municipalities and in several states. In Massachusetts they elected the governor, the entire delegation to Congress, and won control of the state legislature, which sent their man, Henry Wilson, to the U.S. Senate. The amazing success of the Know-Nothing movement continued in 1855, when it sent 75 representatives to Congress, but in the following year it came a cropper in supporting Millard Fillmore for the presidency, and the movement collapsed as suddenly as it had risen to power.

The Know-Nothings by no means confined their activities to the political field. Attacks on Roman Catholics culminated in violence, destruction and bloodshed in many places. In the years 1853-1855, churches were burned down and dynamited in different parts of the country. In Ellsworth, Maine, a Catholic priest was tarred, feathered and ridden out of town on a rail. An Irishman was killed

* One of the outstanding features of all these anti-democratic groups has been their consistency in wrapping themselves in the American flag and other prime symbols of our nation. Thoroughly opposed in practice to the *real* fundamentals upon which our government rests, they invariably have paraded under such titles as "American Patriots," "Patriotic Americans," "Defenders of the American Constitution," and so forth.

during a Know-Nothing raid on St. Mary's church in New York City. Riots broke out in several cities visited by Archbishop Bedini in his tour of America. An anti-Catholic riot in St. Louis resulted in ten deaths. Desperate battles between Know-Nothings on the one hand, and Irish and German immigrants on the other, occurred in Louisville, Kentucky, on "Bloody Monday," August 5, 1855. When the carnage was over more than twenty men lay dead, many more were wounded and beaten and a number of houses tenanted by Irish Catholics were reduced to ashes.

LIES ABOUT ABRAHAM LINCOLN

With the beginning of the Civil War religious prejudices were temporarily submerged and all attention was concentrated on the bloody conflict. But hardly had it ended when anti-Catholic feeling once more asserted itself. Not long after the assassination of Lincoln, a terrible calumny won wide credence throughout the country that his death was the result of a Catholic plot. This preposterous falsehood has been carried right down to our own day in anti-Catholic literature. Interestingly enough, the sudden death of President Harding in 1923 has also been blamed on Catholics. Dr. E. Lewis Fowler, who was for several years editor of a Ku Klux Klan weekly, made the sensational "discovery" that President Harding had not really died of pneumonia, as was generally supposed, but had been killed by deadly thought waves generated in the fiendish brains of Jesuits!

Another instrument utilized in the anti-Catholic crusade was a spurious letter attributed to Lincoln, in which he prophesied a bloody conflict between the American government and international Catholicism, following which "Popery with its merciless inquisition will have been forever swept from our country." Despite its repeated repudiation by historical scholars, this forgery has cropped up time and again in anti-Catholic literature. Lincoln's real sentiments were clearly revealed in a letter to his friend, Joshua Speed, dated August 24, 1855, at the height of the Know-Nothing movement:

"I am not a Know-Nothing, that is certain. How could I be? How can any man who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal.' We now practically read it, 'all men are created equal, except Negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control it will read, 'all men are created equal, except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics.'"

This statement might profitably be studied by certain demagogues now engaged in whipping up a wave of intolerance that is certain to deluge their own fellow-religionists as well as the immediate objects of their bigoted attacks.

"RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION" — THE A.P.A.

Know-Nothingism died as a distinct political movement in 1860, but its spirit was reincarnated in various forms in succeeding decades. The 1880's saw the rise of the slogan, "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion," which was to become a stock phrase in anti-Catholic literature, and was effectively used in the campaign against Al Smith barely a decade ago. The coining of the phrase is commonly attributed to James G. Blaine, the Republican candidate for President in 1884. In the year 1887 the American Protective Association — better known under its abbreviated title of A.P.A. — was founded by Henry F. Bowers, a lawyer residing in Iowa. The A.P.A. was very active in printing forged documents, such as the bogus Lincoln letter and the libel about "Catholic assassins" of Lincoln, and also in opposing all political candidates of the Roman Catholic faith. Its motto was "America for the Americans" — the age-old slogan of the un-American nativists.

An important stimulus to the A.P.A. movement was the economic depression which began in 1893. Religious and racial prejudices always reach heightened tensions in times of economic stress. During that year two crude and vicious forgeries began to be circulated in the United States. One was a document entitled "Instructions to Catholics" bearing the forged signatures of eight American archbishops, who supposedly "viewed with alarm" the spread of "educated intelligence" and the "rapid diffusion of the English language," and urged the restoration of a reign where "people must not think," since thinking was a prerogative of the Pope alone! The spurious "Instructions" further ordered the faithful to "remove or crowd out the American heretics who are now employed" in order to make room for Catholic immigrants. Thus the artful forgers capitalized on the current unemployment crisis to stir up hatred and suspicion among the non-Catholic workers. This was as crude a forgery as the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion,"

now being circulated for the same purpose of creating internal discord.

The second forged document was an "encyclical of Pope Leo XIII" declaring that the people of the United States had forfeited all right to rule their republic, absolving every individual from all oaths of loyalty to the nation, and commanding the Catholics to "exterminate all heretics found within the jurisdiction of the United States of America" "on or about" the feast day of St. Ignatius Loyola (July 31, 1893). This bogus bull created a furore, being printed in all A.P.A. journals and inserted as paid advertisements in the general press. To cap the climax, when July 31 came and went without untoward incident, one A.P.A. periodical charged that the papal bull had been deliberately forged and circulated by Jesuits to raise the cry of "wolf" when there was no wolf, in order to catch the Protestants off-guard when the wolf really came!

THE RISE OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

The origin and progress of the K.K.K. gave impressive confirmation of Lincoln's observation that the exclusion of Negroes from equal rights would be followed by the exclusion of foreigners, Catholics, etc. This organization, founded during the Reconstruction days to put the recently-freed Negro "in his place" by terrorization, was revived in 1915 under the grandiose name, Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with William Joseph Simmons as its Imperial Wizard. At first it concentrated on petty acts of terror against Negroes in the South, but it gradually expanded its active program to include Catholics, Jews, and foreigners in its scope of persecution. In a few years anti-Catholic activities were its primary concern, with anti-Semitism taking a secondary place and anti-Negro activity relegated to a very subordinate role.

The crimes of the Ku Klux Klan are too well known to require detailed description here. The memory of most readers will be vividly reawakened by mere mention of the nocturnal rides and cross-burnings, intimidating parades, the tarring and feathering, whipping, torturing, and cold-blooded killing of men — and women — whose only offense was that their skin was somewhat darker than that of their fellows, or that they happened to be born into the "wrong" religion. The story of the Klan marks one of the blackest chapters of recent American history. By its efficient organization on the political front, it seized control of many high political offices, and wielded its power ruthlessly against the objects of its hatred. It will be remembered how the Klan issue dominated the famous 1924 Democratic convention, and how it cast its shadow over the convention of 1928, which nominated Al Smith as the first Catholic presidential nominee of a major party. What man or woman who lived through those days can forget the amazing campaign of calumny waged by the Klan and its allies against Al Smith because of his religious affiliation? All the old slanders, in new and more vicious forms, were dragged out of the storage-bin of bigotry in that memorable year of 1928, and there can be no doubt that the anti-Catholic issue played a major role in the defeat of Smith.

The excesses of the Klan during the 1928 campaign caused such a revulsion of feeling in America that it quickly declined in influence. Exposure of the fraudulent practices of some of its leading officers was also a factor in its enfeeblement.

Liberal students of the American scene were shocked by the cordial invitation to attend the dedication of the Roman Catholic cathedral in Atlanta extended in January, 1939, by Bishop O'Hara to Hiram W. Evans, who has been Imperial Wizard of the K.K.K. since 1922. A picture showing Cardinal Daugherty and the Imperial Wizard in a friendly hand-shake on that occasion received prominent display in the press. It is true that Evans has recently announced that the Klan would "lay off" its religious and race-baiting activities in order to concentrate on fighting the C.I.O., but the organization itself has become so hateful a symbol and is still such a latent force for intolerance that many deemed the Bishop's action ill-advised. The Klan still lives, and awaits only a favorable moment to ride against its most hated enemies—the Catholics. One wonders if Cardinal Daugherty's attention has been called to one of the most poisonous of contemporary anti-Catholic books, *The Rising Storm*, written by this same Hiram W. Evans and published only nine years ago, which envisaged an "irrepressible conflict" between "Americanism" and Roman Catholicism.

On May 13, 1936, the body of a young Catholic W.P.A. worker named Charles Poole of Detroit was found on a roadside, riddled with bullets. Investigation of this murder led to one of the most fantastic — and disturbing — revelations in our recent domestic history. Clues resulted in arrests, and arrests in confessions, and when the complicated

pieces of the puzzle were put together they made up a picture of a monster known as the Black Legion, that horrified the nation. Here was a cult of violence whose members, under the idealistic slogan of protecting "Protestantism, Americanism and Womanhood," were sworn to carry on unrelenting war on "Catholics, Jews, Negroes, aliens and Communists." Its membership in Michigan alone was estimated at 135,000. Confessions revealed cold-blooded assassinations, lashings of victims with steel-studded whips, and other forms of torture. It was confessed that one innocent Negro had been murdered by a band of Black Legion terrorists "just to see what it's like to shoot a nigger." Evidence was produced to show that members of the Legion had been used for union-busting purposes, and the mysterious murder of at least one labor organizer was ascribed to them. Like similar societies, it carried on the most un-American activities under the disguise of ultra-American slogans.

FATHER COUGHLIN—FOMENTER OF ANTI-CATHOLICISM

This survey would be incomplete without reference to the man who is probably doing more to fan the flames of anti-Catholicism in America than any other individual—Father Coughlin. Discredited as a political adventurer because of his intemperate, impertinent harangues during the election campaign of 1936, he vowed to "get off the air" at that time, after being forced to make a public apology to the President for remarks that shocked the people. Inordinately ambitious, constitutionally unable to keep out of the limelight, he then attempted a comeback along new and more dangerous lines—the open espousal of pro-fascist principles, generously mixed with anti-Semitism on the Nazi model.

Father Coughlin's campaign has already passed the stage of mere calumny. Today, Coughlinite hooligans are already roving about on the streets of New York, stirring up disorder by profane, provocative slurs and open violence against unoffending Jews—exactly like their forerunners, the "wide-awakes," victimized Catholics a century ago. A number of venders of this very magazine have been attacked by cowardly hoodlums inspired by Father Coughlin's hymns of hate. It is an open secret that his cohorts in New York and elsewhere have entered into a reciprocal agreement with Nazi Bund groups, whereby they attend each other's meetings, exchange propaganda literature, and the like. The Nazi sources of much of the material Father Coughlin uses in his speeches and articles have already been thoroughly exposed.

Now, this sort of thing is extremely dangerous to Catholics as well as to the Jews. Non-Catholics who are quick to resent alleged intrusions of the Roman Catholic Church in the field of politics have been tending more and more to identify the adventurism of Father Coughlin with the Church whose vestments he wears. This resentment grows steadily, drawing thousands of fresh recruits into the ranks of anti-Catholics.

THE CATHOLIC STAKE IN TOLERANCE

Our historical development can be properly understood and appreciated only if we see democracy as a dynamic process, ever reaching upward toward higher goals, and not as something that was handed us on a silver platter in 1620 or 1776 or 1789. There is one other vital fact that honest Catholics might bear in mind before lending ear to siren songs of the Father Coughlins luring them onward to the treacherous shoals of anti-Semitism. Catholics, like Jews, have been a minority group in America: today they comprise less than one-fifth of the total population, and are in the same exposed position as other religious minorities. Intolerance begets intolerance. Bigotry is blind, and once stirred up, has a tendency to strike out in all directions. When the beast is loosed, Catholics will find themselves among its victims, if the American past can be used as an index. Hence positive participation of Catholics in the fight against intolerance becomes not merely a matter of common decency and justice, but also of self-protection.

Therefore, let us hope that those who are stirring up religious hatreds from within the ranks of the Catholic Church—Father Coughlin, Father Curran, the editors of the Brooklyn *Tablet*, and the rest—may be warned and stopped in time, "for they sow the wind, and shall reap the whirlwind."

Observe how Hitler used deluded Catholics in Austria to further his aims, and crushed them once his goal was achieved. Observe how he used the fascist guard under Father Hlinka in Slovakia as a wedge toward the break-up of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, and note how Slovakia now lies prostrate, a helpless pawn completely at the mercy of Hitler. In the same way those who are driving toward dictatorship in this country are using Father Coughlin and his deluded cohorts as an effective wedge to split the common front of demo-

cracy. Note the strange bedfellows of Father Coughlin, temporarily united in an unholy alliance of anti-Semitism: only yesterday many of these "allies" were producing the most violent anti-Catholic tracts. They have not changed their minds: they have merely changed their tactics. Against their aim to divide and rule, let us stand squarely behind the official motto emblazoned at the head of our national emblem: "E Pluribus Unum"—Out of Many, One.

THIS IS HOW THEY LIVE

VERA CASPARY

A First-hand Description of a Refugee Camp in Europe.

Zurich, Switzerland

As we came out of the movie, the young man's hand tightened on my arm. "There," he whispered, "is the president . . . the Fuehrer . . . how you call it . . . of our camp."

The other boy looked grim.

Naively American, I said, "You should worry. The head of a refugee camp is a friend, isn't he?"

"He will say we are extravagant."

"Can't you tell him I paid for the seats?"

"Yes, so we will. But also in the camp they will say we are extravagant."

And there you have a typical refugee attitude. The grown man has become a child. A movie is an offense, a cup of coffee in a coffee house is playing hookey. The refugee is a marked man, and although his number grows and grows and grows, he is expected to live a peculiar and isolated sort of life, like an invalid suffering from some rare disease. There are so many refugees that they have begun to bore their hosts in the countries that have offered exile, yet if one of them drops his refugee role, if he unburdens himself of his sorrows and removes his melancholy mask, his hosts are shocked and his fellow-refugees indignant. There is much gossip among the refugees. This life of idleness has made many of them neurotic and petty. The process of degeneration is swift when people have no work and no purpose.

Every day there are more refugees. No one knows what will become of the people in Prague who are still sleeping in the cellars of the embassies belonging to democratic countries. The Viennese have not yet recovered from the shock. They are like people convalescent after a severe accident. Dazed and startled, as if they were just recovering from concussion of the brain, they must adapt themselves to this new way of life. There are so many changes, so many little things to learn. How is one to get his clothes washed, and if he smokes that one extra cigarette today, will he find an extra cigarette somewhere tomorrow?

In the refugee camps, the laundry problem at least has been solved. Cigarettes are passed out in rations, like food. If there are not enough cots, there may be straw; anyway there is a place on the floor. But then there is the problem of the small fees which these camps charge. Will one get the money from this or that fund? Must one be orthodox in order to be given a castoff suit of clothes? Suppose there is a delay in the mail and the money from American relations does not arrive in time? Where will he go then? And the visa . . . if the visa is not renewed, will it be Palestine next or the mines of Bolivia? Sometimes men are sent back across the border, back to Germany and Austria.

Still, in the refugee camp a person has companionship. Lend a cigarette today, you may borrow one tomorrow. There is an hour's lesson in English, and work, too. The work may be in laundry or garden, it may mean four hours of scrubbing or endless potatoes to be peeled, but at least it provides a measure of activity and social activity at that.

The idleness of the refugee and his dazed reaction is not unlike the tragedy of our own unemployed who suddenly found themselves obliged, after years of work habits, to wait and wait and wait for occupation. Men who knew the security of routines, who respected themselves because they always paid the rent, suddenly found themselves useless. A year ago, just before IT happened, Gustave tells you, he paid for a holiday for all his wife's relations, sixteen people; and now his eyes are dumb and anxious as he waits for an invitation to drink coffee and eat a slab of pastry.

They want to work. And very often their hosts

would like to provide work, but this is against the law in all countries except the U. S. A. When a refugee is discovered working for the slightest pay, even cigarette money, he loses his visa. Waldemar has been a refugee for three years now. His spirit suffered so cruelly that he could neither sleep nor digest when he had to think of little begging speeches, petitions for two or three francs with which to buy the small things which, in the other life, he had always taken for granted. And Hermann said that whenever he went into a coffee-house to read the newspapers, he was criticized for being extravagant. It was not the coffee nor the newspapers which he wanted so much, but only to be quiet for a little time. What refugee has any privacy? He can be alone if he takes long walks but the weather has been bad lately and Hermann has a cough. A warm place to sit and think would be like home again; yet they talk so much if he spends fifty centimes for coffee with milk.

Yes, the refugees suffer from idleness, but they suffer even more from fear. Every mail is awaited with eager sadness. "Mama is still in Dusseldorf," the new acquaintance tells you, "otherwise I would talk freely to you." Another worries about his little sister, just nineteen and not too strong. What have they done to Frieda? She was such a pretty child. Always they tell you the same thing, they cannot talk because there are others still at home. But they talk anyway. They talk and talk and talk. Conversation is their chief activity, their only release. At first you will hear only a few guarded sentences, then they will ask if they can come to your room. You are an American, it must be safe. Sometimes they are not patient enough to wait until they have reached your room. You can tell in the coffee houses by the hunched shoulders, the furtive eyes, that they are telling one another painful refugee stories.

"You want to hear about horrors? Yesterday I met a man who has just arrived from Dachau. You know Dachau, the concentration camp? This man, he tells me about my friend. All night I cannot sleep. Why? Before they shot my friend, they put out his eyes."

Many tell horror stories with too much lust. They want so desperately to talk about pain and blood. Death and cruelty is justification. They hate, and they want to hate, the Nazis for something more than personal grievances. Some of them are shocked to find themselves taking an interest in politics, in asking questions about the cause of these never-ending catastrophes. They must find some explanation for their new, incomprehensible interest in world affairs, and so they whisper in the coffee-houses about the horrors.

Among the political refugees, you find less talk of terror. The present government of Switzerland does not care too much for the political refugees, but its reputation must be preserved. History has to be considered. Lenin lived in an old house in Zurich. Zwingli, their great religious reformer, hid beneath these pointed roofs. So they must extend hospitality to the political refugees, too.

Political refugees are sharply divided from the non-politicals. They are men of every philosophy except Nazi and Fascist. And they carry themselves with self-respect. They are not victims of persecution, they are men and women who have committed the crime of opposing National Socialism, and now they are taking their punishment. The chief distinction between the non-political refugees and the political exiles is this: the non-political refugees are trying to find a way to escape as families or individuals, are seeking means by which they may be absorbed in new countries; the political exiles are still working to change the political situation in Germany, to clean Europe of the Nazis. They are still hopeful men and women, while the non-political refugees are waiting for something that may start over again in the new country.

The politicals are people in whom the spirit of struggle provides a living fibre that, despite all humiliation, helps to keep them untainted by either despair or neurosis. One must have seen men and women in these circumstances to grasp fully the limitless courage and resources of the human spirit. One cannot meet them with unmixed emotion: the desire to weep alternates with love and admiration. But one leaves them with the sense that so long as such people live, freedom and human dignity will live as well. They are the guarantee of the future and before their will, the horrors of a Dachau and a Gestapo, the whip, the racial nonsense, the Nazi idiocies, will crumble; and soon.

☆

I WAS STABBED BY AN ANTI-SEMITE

IRVING BERGER

The following affidavit by Mr. Irving Berger, a Jewish young man, who almost died of knife wounds inflicted by anti-Semitic hooligans, will reveal more eloquently than all arguments can that the propaganda engaged in by the Nazis, Coughlinites and so-called "Christian Front" groups consists of more than verbal appeals to intolerance and hatred. It invariably leads to acts of organized violence and bloodshed.

Let the American people learn their lesson from the bitter experiences of the German people during the days when the Nazis carried on their agitation for power.

The streets of Berlin, Munich and Dresden were drenched with the blood of Jews, Catholics, Protestants, trade unionists, liberal and all progressive people. We do not wish to see those brutal scenes enacted on the streets of our own country. They needn't be. All men and women worthy of the name American recoil from them with revulsion.

There is a limit to the free exercise of civil rights. Does it mean the license of murdering one's opponents in cold blood? Surely the Founding Fathers of the Republic never had this in mind when they presented us with the Bill of Rights.

We believe that it is the moral and civic obligation of every good citizen to demand full protection for life and limb against the fascist hoodlums and their incitations to pogroms.

We believe that all Americans of good will should unite to prevent further wanton attacks on innocent individuals or groups.

At 12:30 A. M. on the morning of February 23, 1939, I was taking Miss Lillian Dorfman of the Bronx, home from a party. We had just left the Lexington Avenue train at 42nd Street and had entered the lower shuttle passage which at that moment was more or less deserted, when three young men passed us, their closest approach being within one foot of me at the moment of passing. One of them, who later proved to be the knife-wielder, uttered the phrase "dirty Yid." I turned and asked "what's that?" to which he repeated "dirty Yid." My reply to this remark was "Yes, I am a Jew and I'm proud of it!"

Apparently the men were taken aback by this remark, and for a moment they did nothing during which time I partly turned to continue towards the shuttle. As I turned, however, two of the men, both of whom were later apprehended, leaped and attempted to strike me, but I parried their blows and succeeded in knocking both of them down. The third man, in the meantime, did not attempt to enter the fray.

While I had defended myself against the two men, I dropped a book that I had been carrying. When I attempted to retrieve the book, one of the men whom I knocked down, rose to his feet and shouted to his friend, "Don't let him get away—grab him," and other phrases which I don't clearly remember, and ran over and attempted to kick me. I stood up in time to avoid the kick and as I did so, the third man pushed and held me against a railing which separates the platform from the tracks, while the man who regained his feet had taken off his jacket, and began hitting me with blows that had no force. I twisted around and caught sight of a knife (boy-scout type) which he was holding and I immediately shouted to the crowd that had gathered that my assailant had a knife, at which both men turned and ran. The other man who had been knocked down at the outset had apparently gotten up and slipped away unnoticed.

Miss Dorfman, in the meantime, had tried to enlist the aid of members of the growing crowd to stop the fight and did not witness the actual stabbing.

Finding that my wounds were bleeding quite profusely and that I was unable to walk unassisted, I called for someone from the crowd to help me to a hospital. Three young men came forward and with the aid of Miss Dorfman, helped me into a taxi in which I was taken to the Hospital for the Ruptured and Crippled. Five body wounds were found to have been inflicted, the most serious wound being in the abdomen with minor wounds in the thighs (3) and back (1).

SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS

FRANCIS SILL WICKWARE

An American Gentile Speaks Out.

Some of my best friends hate Jews. They don't know why they hate them, but they do. I have heard one of my best friends declare with venom on his tongue that though he disapproved of Adolph Hitler's "extremism," he considered the Nazi pogroms "justified by the problem"—and I knew he meant that he would consider similar pogroms justified in America. This man is the kindest of husbands, the loving father of three bright-eyed young "Aryans," and a generous supporter of one of the most top-hatted churches on Park Avenue. No need to mention his clubs, but he is a college man married to a finishing-school girl, and he has an income which permits him to do expensive things with the right people. His family name is one which occurs in the lesser footnotes in American history books, and his own name is included in those prestige directories which, it is said, it takes more than money to enter. Without a great deal of urging he will relate how his ancestors—Cornishmen—came to the Colonies in the early 1700's, quartered with Washington at Valley Forge, and later produced three Union corpses at Gettysburg and Cold Harbor. He proudly describes the way his ancestors died for the cause of liberty, and perhaps rightly he considers himself the archetype of contemporary American aristocracy.

Here I should say that most of my best Jew-hating friends resemble this man in various respects. They are self-assured people with comfortable incomes and even fortunes, with names, children, governesses, dignified city apartments and country homes in the plushiest suburbs. They go to parties and give them. They take an interest in things. They read books, attend concerts, play contract, and Discuss Intelligently. They are exposed to all the amenities of urban civilization, and if the amenities are worth anything they should be tolerant, gracious, broad-minded citizens as willing to let live as they are to live. Yet they hate Jews. They hate them, furthermore, with an undisguised bitterness which cannot but lead, sooner or later, to a demand for direct anti-Semitic action and an acceptance of the living death of fascism.

Of course, these splendid folk have been carrying on a "cold pogrom" against the Jews for years. They have refrained from visiting resorts which Jews visit. They have stopped only at those hotels which refuse to accommodate Jews. They have belonged to clubs and social organizations which would admit a 100 per cent "Aryan" rapist sooner than Professor Albert Einstein. In their businesses they have erected invisible, impenetrable barriers against Jewish job applicants. And in countless other small hateful ways they have expressed their contempt and prejudice as a sort of social convention. But these things were always done quietly, almost automatically. It has only been within the last few years that this rather formless snobbery has coalesced into a hard lump of antagonism, only recently that my friends have commenced to use the words and tone of Herr Doktor Goebbels. And it seems to be spreading. I shall never forget my profound shock one morning a month or two ago when I was driving to work with a friend of mine and a truck bearing advertising signs of a Yiddish newspaper jumped the red light and nearly collided with us. It was reckless driving, certainly, but my friend behind the wheel did not condemn it as such. No, it was Jewish driving. The truckman was a Jew, and what he had just done was typical of what the Jewish race had done to America and the world. This in the vilest language possible, from a man whose heart I had always supposed to be right.

Then there was my friend who recently gave up reading what he admits is the most intelligent newspaper in New York because of its Jewish management. He was also the one whom I accompanied to the movies one night, heard him laugh delightedly at some Jewish comedians while in the theatre, and heard him come out and denounce Hollywood, the "Jew capital" which was "poisoning the universe." And so it goes, over the bridge hands and cocktail glasses, an inhuman sniping at an unhappy people with occasional prophetic flashes of violence. Already it has produced a couple of pathological characters among my select group of friends. I have in mind one Christian gentleman who is fond of reading aloud an old clipping from *Time Magazine* describing the plan of the notorious Nazi-racketeer James True of Washington, D. C.,

to organize on a certain day a "national Jew shoot." The piece has a certain humor, I suppose; even on the third or fourth reading some of my best friends hoot with laughter.

* * *

Sometimes I try to find out the motivation of this anti-Semitism among these well-bred, upper-class Americans. It is a dreadfully discouraging business, because none of them seem to know. They seem willing to subscribe to what they know are lies. Their attitude resembles that of that distinguished ecclesiastic Coughlin who gleefully flings the vitriol of the "Protocols of Zion" with the comment that while these forgeries may not be "authentic" they are "factual." Likewise with the anti-Semitic canards attributed to Benjamin Franklin and disproved a hundred times over. Now I can understand an *economic* brand of Jew-hating. I can understand how a Gentile owner of a little shop with three Jewish competitors in the same block might covet their trade and subconsciously transmute his greed into race prejudice. I can also understand how an unemployed factory hand or an evicted farmer, or any other baffled, beaten, unpossessed individual might embrace the incredible propaganda now circulating against the Jews and find it a scapegoat to ease his realization of failure. But these secure and arrogant people behind braided flunkies and the remote battlements of Park Avenue apartment houses — how could they! No one requires them to meet or treat with Jews from one year's end to the next. They aren't in trade. If they have any connection with poverty and evicted farmers it comes from setting the wages and holding the mortgages. They are educated people, too, if Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Smith, and Vassar (let us draw the curtain of charity over Miss Porter's, Miss Walker's, Fermata, and Millbrook) are able to educate. Ask them to explain the implications of the U. S. gold monopoly and they can provide a discourse that is lucid enough, though confused by frequent references to the iniquities of President Roosevelt. They are cultured people, too—Culture spelled Kultur. Put a Bach fugue on the phonograph and they wriggle as though in an ecstasy. Literature? You never heard such pedagogy in your life. For two hours they will debate the fine point of whether Bacon wrote Shakespeare or Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare. The pity of it is that they will end up by stating that Shylock was the truest character that Shakespeare (or Bacon) ever conceived.

It is people like these who will sidle up to you at parties and whisper confidentially that "The Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, is a Jewess." You say "What of it?" and they look at you with blank astonishment. They can prove absolutely and positively that Lindbergh's baby was murdered on instructions from some cabal of bearded patriarchs plotting upon a mountain top in Palestine — Kuhn, Loeb, no doubt embarrassing the House of Morgan via Miss Anne Morrow — and they reel off veritable annual statements to show that the Jews own America. They know these things are false. They know that the Jews do not own America, or even a small part of America. But they are willing to forget what they know. They are willing to anesthetize their own intellects and indulge in the wildest sophistries in order to polish their magnificence and spit with the most elite spit on those who cannot spit back. Frankly, I do not know whether these people — these gay, rich, lighthearted people who were my friends — are subject to some particular decay which makes them rottener than the rottenest tooth or whether there is some intrinsic fault in the social process which installed the silver spoons in their mouths at birth and substituted golden spoons as they grew older.

So far I have listened to these people without lecturing. I have not explained to them that as an American citizen I wish for my country only peace, and dignity, and greatness, and that as an individual imbued with the American dream I have ever demanded justice for others before pleading it for myself. I have refrained from quoting to them the Declaration of Independence, or the Bill of Rights, or Lincoln's letter to Horace Greeley, or even Stephen Benet's Invocation to John Brown's Body. I have not even bothered to point out to them that they are a social minority smaller even than the Jews are a racial minority, and that the revolutionary whirlwind is catholic in its destruction. No, these people are too far lost for that; they would laugh at me. The language they can understand is the glib, cruel language of sarcasm, and that is why if I publish this at all I will publish it not anonymously but under my full signature. My friends will know what I am talking about and perhaps when their words are flung back at them one or two may be shocked or shamed into decency. The rest will call me names and cut me dead, and that will be all right, too.

ROUSED FROM SLEEP

DANIEL FUCHS

A Short Story

IN THE MIDDLE of the night I awake. My little girl has an infected toe and now she can't sleep for the throbbing pain. She cries softly and I say, what can I say, I say, "Don't cry, baby. Don't cry." It is icy cold in the house as I go to heat some water for her to soak her foot. "Don't cry, baby," I mumble. "Soon I'll make it better. The water will warm up in a minute." And I sit down on her bed, hunching in the cold but somehow not minding the discomfort. I acknowledge it, I shiver, but the cold somehow means little.

Waiting for the water to heat in the pan, I think of the old man who stands in front of Luden's grocery store. Once he had a box to sit on but that makes a bad impression for a place of business, to have a useless old man there, and Luden tries to get rid of him. The grocery man doesn't have the heart to drive him away; instead he hides the box, hoping the old man will take the hint. The old man understands, he is hurt and for a day or so fails to appear. But then he is back again, timidly at his place near the fruit stands, having overcome in his soul the insult to his dignity. He is old and useless, downhill and near the bottom, and there is nothing waiting for him but the grave. He knows all this too, but there he stands every day, his shy eyes watching the glad activity of the scene, people coming and going, men working, money being made. And when business grows slack and Luden goes inside the store, the old man furtively picks up the pink tissue papers which people have dropped, buying oranges. He gathers the papers together and places them in the peach basket they use for refuse; and when he goes back to his place, he is happy for a while, for he too has done something today.

I remember, as I sit on my daughter's bed, one winter night when I passed along a street and saw a man struggling to raise his horse which had fallen on the slippery pavement. The animal rests a moment in his misery, his breath comes in tired, nervous puffs from his dilating nostrils, the eyes are empty and dully beseeching. The man holds the reins gently in his hands; he gazes at the animal with compassion, pats his neck for encouragement, talks to him in much the same useless tone in which I have just been consoling my daughter.

"All right now, Sport. Take it easy. Rest," he says. "Then try again. If you'll only try hard enough, you'll stand up again." He is a poor man, not very old. He wears a rusty overcoat held together under his chin by a big safety pin instead of a button. His nose is wet but he lets it run unmindful, his concern solely for the horse as he waits.

Somewhere they are demolishing a building, so there is firewood for the carting, as the custom sometimes is. He has brought his wagon, hoping possibly to make some money, for he has somehow cajoled the building watchman out of the wooden doors which are generally held too valuable to be given away for nothing.

For comfort, for warmth, for company — if you know how it is with the man, you'll understand — he has brought his little boy with him. Now the boy sits high on the wagon seat, his face brave, fighting back the tears all the time they are stalled here this cold, wretched night. The boy holds his hands in the side chest pockets of his mackinaw and puts on a bold front.

"All he needs is a rest, Papa," he says, trying to cheer his father; that's easy to see, he's a good kid, older than his years and he understands. "Sport will get up this time, Papa. But first he needs a rest."

The man does not listen to him but waits and watches the animal. Then the time finally comes for another effort and he nudges softly with the reins. "All right, Sport," he says kindly. "You rested long enough. Now try, Sport. Try hard."

The horse raises his glazed eyes to his master and obediently looks for strength within him for the struggle. The muscles under his hide begin to tighten; his legs scrape and slip on the icy asphalt; sparks fly from his shoes. "Come, boy," cries the son on the wagon seat, his voice shrill with hope. "Come on, Sport. You'll make it." "Get up!" cries the man. He dangles the slack of the reins in his hands like a whip. "Get up!"

The horse labors sincerely, he fights the ground but his eyes are blank, he cannot do it and he looks to his master for pity.

And then a crying, bitter fury sweeps over the man as he watches helplessly. Tears come to his

eyes, his wretchedness pours over him. He can't restrain himself and suddenly, without realizing it himself probably, he is beating the horse with the slack of the reins. He beats the animal and beats him, with all his strength, his shoulders swaying with the force of his blows. His eyes are blinded, he cries out savagely as he lays it into the horse and it is not really the horse he is belaboring but himself, his life.

A wild look comes into the horse's eyes. Somewhere deep in him he digs for energy. The horse struggles under the blows, constantly slipping, constantly fighting to regain his legs until the rhythm of his exertions seems hysterical with their violence. On the seat the boy is white with fear, scared to see his father pounding away at the horse. The clangor of the horse's hooves and the cries of the man whipping him fill the empty block. It is cruel and ugly to see the horse, it's as though the horse is being slaughtered and it seems impossible for the animal to last another second of it. And then suddenly it is over. The horse is on his legs, trembling on them as though they are made of china. The muscles still shiver and once or twice his knees buckle with weakness. He is afraid to look at his master but pants and stares straight ahead.

The man turns abruptly cold, all bitterness gone from him, ashamed before his son for his anger. He hands the reins to the boy over his shoulder, without turning his head to him, and he walks up to hold the horse by the bridle at the head. He walks with the animal and behind them the son calls to the horse in tender tones. "Come on, Sport. Come on, boy." As they go down the street, those three, the man, the horse and the boy, alone in the darkness of the night, the horse puts his hooves gingerly on the ground and the man plodding with him cries silently to himself.

My little girl whimpers. To help her, all I can do is go to the kitchen and test the water with my finger. I know there hasn't been time enough for it to grow warm but it reassures my daughter to feel that I am doing something. When I come back to her bed, I put her foot up, resting it in my lap. Somehow this makes a difference to her. "Try to fall asleep," I say, "and then the water will be ready before you know it." "All right," she says, "I'll try to sleep."

So I turn out the light, I sit on the bed fondling her foot in my lap and I sing to her: "Lu lu, lu lu, lu lu lu." But it doesn't help. She moves restlessly under the blanket and I say, "Sleep," and she says, "I can't," and then I say, "Soon, soon." And she grows quiet again.

I think of a man I knew some time ago when I taught at an elementary school. His name was Platt, a man near fifty who had been teaching in grade school for thirty years; and thinking of him I have to recall the big brown valise he carried with him every day. In it he always kept all the clerical work a teacher has to do, rating cards, attendance sheets, health records, the roll book and so on. There is a good deal of this work to be done but most teachers manage it quickly, finding time during their lunch hour, at odd moments during the day, and then they are able to pass on to other pursuits, of study or of pleasure.

But for Platt the work remains forever in his mind, a constant unyielding torment. He carries the clerical forms with him all the time, bewildered by the maze of details, seeking in vain for some magic key that will swiftly and surely throw the right notations into their proper spots. The least he can do, he feels, is to have the records with him in the valise all the time and he hopes, it is clear, that this sign of his conscientious application to his task will help to accomplish it.

After school hours Platt sits alone in his room before the empty desks. He relishes the quiet at three o'clock, he likes to stay there when the children have gone because the stillness contrasts so sharply with the humiliating turmoil of his lessons during the day; for his pupils have long ago sensed his weaknesses as a teacher and practise upon him their hundred forms of cruelty.

Platt sits at his desk in the afternoon, staring at the ruled sheets. The intricacies of age-progress reports this term once again reduce him to weeping helplessness. Patiently he sets himself to solve the riddle and he takes Barkis, Robert, chronological age 12 yrs. 8 mos., terms in school, 13. He has the numbers now and he hunts around for the right squares and then he must dig up the proper code symbols. Then he grows confused, panicky; he turns the pages to the models and instructions which all drive him only further into helplessness. He holds three sheets in his hand and a dozen items in his mind. It is useless, he gives up and leans back in his chair, trying to keep from slipping into despair, and he rests a moment. What use are these figures? Who reads them? "Picayune!" he says aloud. "Picayune!" And he gathers him-

self together for another effort.

Outside at the door stands the janitor. He knocks.

"Go to the other rooms first," Platt calls to him. "Do my room last, George."

"See, what it is, Mr. Platt," George says. "I been all the other rooms now. This one's the last."

"Could you come back a little later, please? I have just a few minutes more work to do."

"See, what it is, it's after five o'clock. It's pretty late, you know."

The lateness of the hour surprises Platt. So late and he hasn't done even three reports. But he places the charts and records into his brown valise, he puts on his hat and prepares to go home. After dinner he'll try again. He'll stay up all night, working and struggling, and he does not like the prospect. For he knows that everything with him is hopeless, it's all over with him, he can't do it, what he needs is a long rest from care and worry and petty details. He's afraid of everything; it's a problem for him now to use the subway; he has to steel himself to buy a postage stamp in the drug store. Every day when he rises to go to school it is as though he goes to battle and a million fears grab him.

"See, I'm sorry if I'm chasing you out like," George says. "Only it's getting very late, you see."

"Oh, it's all right, George," Platt says. My God, he doesn't want to worry this poor man and he rushes to tell him everything is all right. "Don't give it another thought, George. It's perfectly all right!"

And Platt goes down the stairs of the dark school building, he walks to the subway station and hopes no pupil will meet him on the street to shout something discourteous at him. He has a nervous stomach and the thought of dinner brings no pleasure to him, but after his meal he'll try again. This time maybe it will go easily, he will be rested and there are always those times when everything suddenly straightens itself out as if by a miracle. Then all the records come smooth and swift. But that is too much to hope for now. He frowns and stares at the sidewalk as he goes to the station. "Picayune," he weeps to himself, holding the valise in one hand and a nickel for the subway in the other. "Picayune."

At last the water is warm and I mix the epsom salts, a tablespoonful to a quart of water. Sitting on my lap, my girl puts her foot into the basin. She leans on my chest and waits to see if the pain will go away. "Better," she says. "It's getting better." "Then sleep," I say. "Now fall asleep."

What am I thinking of, pulled out of sleep in the middle of the night? I ask myself. What makes me worry about the old man at Luden's and Platt and the man in his rusty overcoat walking at the head of his horse? Why do I think of the slow eating away of a man's spirit, a man once hopeful and young and gay, ambitious and anxious to make a way for himself during the space of his years, but who becomes beaten and broken, venturing nothing, knowing that everything he tries is marked for defeat, knowing it with cold dread in his heart so that he cannot find courage to lift his head and try again? Why do I think of the despair of old men?

Soon my girl is sleeping at my chest. The pain has gone for a while. I wrap a towel around her foot and carry her to bed. I tuck the blankets around her, pushing her arms under the covers as she tries, even in her sleep, to keep them free. I go to my own bed.

So this is what you've come to, I tell myself. You sit at night and mope. What's the matter with you? And getting into bed, I excuse myself by saying how it is late and dark, how my head is dull and numb with sleep and with the cold. These thoughts are, after all, accountable in the night, the time of bad dreams and of terrible stillness. At night the perceptions lose proportions; fears and the black moods become many times magnified.

I go to sleep, knowing that everything will straighten itself out in the morning. Then the sun comes again, bright and warm. I'll try again, doing this and that, hopeful, and with courage. The despair will be forgotten. Tomorrow at least it will be forgotten, I say as I fall asleep. I am still able to forget, for I am young and that comes later.

☆

EDITORIALS

CHAMBERLAIN'S BLOODY PAPER

FOLLOWING THE PATH which led him to the betrayal of Czechoslovakia Chamberlain issued the new White Paper on Palestine on May 17, 1939. Beyond all the sugar-coated diplomatic phrases of the tricky new paper betrayal stares us in the face once again.

With complete brazenness Britain now reiterates the recommendations which were rejected by both the Jews and the Arabs at the London conference. Betraying the interests of the Jews and paying lip-service to the interests of the Arabs the new White Paper rephrases the discredited program from which the British tories alone stand to gain.

Those afflicted with a headline mentality will be deluded into believing that Britain has relinquished its desire to dominate Palestine completely. The *New York World-Telegram* of May 17th heads its story on the new British Paper "Arab Rule Decreed for Palestine" while the *New York Post* ran an eight column headline "Britain to Give Palestine to Arabs." In reality Britain is giving nothing. While throwing to the winds its conventions with the Zionists and trying to appease the Arabs with vague, weasel promises, Britain is only offering what it offered in London: a plan for rigid British domination.

The new White Paper climaxes the many years of British divide-and-rule intrigue in the Near East. Britain's utter disregard for the people of Palestine has never been more nakedly flaunted. Britain wants to secure its own position in the troubled Mediterranean area regardless of the effect of such a move on the living conditions of the people there. No honest person can accept this new version of Britain's divide-and-rule policy which strikes so harshly at Jewish interests and at peace and democracy in the Near East.

Only in a divided Palestine could Britain enforce such a drastic program. Only from a Palestine united in its opposition to further British betrayal can a constructive program of peace emerge. At this moment it is imperative to learn the lessons of past mistakes in order to safeguard peace and security.

At the root of most of Palestine's trouble was the vicious triangle, the division of Jew and Arab with the British lion straddling both. This new White Paper is in the tradition of most British White Papers. It utilizes to the fullest extent Arab-Jewish division and secures its own position by playing on the antagonism of both peoples.

An answer based on actual facts must be given to the old question "Who are the allies of the Jews in Palestine?" In the past when this question was debated the majority of Zionists continued to claim that Zionism must collaborate with Britain. The small group which insisted that the Jews make peace with their neighbors and that the allies of the Jews are the Arabs were repeatedly laughed away, criticized or ignored. To guard against future and perhaps greater tragedy in Palestine all groups concerned must revaluate their past activities, eliminate former false policies and unite around a program which will bring peace to the troubled and tried population of Palestine. There can be peace in Palestine if only it will be pursued persistently.

One of the most heartening signs of the possibilities of Arab-Jewish understanding and cooperation is the crystalization of a movement in Palestine, embracing representatives of many Zionist parties and many walks of life, built on the premise that only through Arab-Jewish cooperation can the interests of the Jews be safeguarded. In March, 1939, a 140 page Hebrew periodical (entitled *Al Parashat Derakhenu*) was published in Jerusalem expressing the views of this group.

Moral economic and political arguments for unity are advanced in the publication. But what is most interesting is the fact that many uncompromising Zionists now realize that there is no future for the Zionist movement in Palestine unless the Jews come to an understanding with the Arabs. And following the publication of the new periodical two open meetings were held to popularize this program, one on April 1st in Jerusalem and the other on April 15th in Tel-Aviv.

While rejecting Chamberlain's bloody White Paper, all true friends of humanity can best fight for the security of the Jews in Palestine by encouraging mutual understanding between them and the masses of Arabs who are beginning to realize that they are being betrayed by Chamberlain, on the one side, and by their fascistic nationalists on the other.

VICTORY IN MIAMI

On May 2 an extraordinary event took place in Miami. The reverberations of what occurred are still rumbling through the country like thunder. Wherever Negroes live, work and suffer it remains the chief topic of conversation, for its like has never been seen nor heard of before in the backward South. Negroes glow with proper pride and say: The Negro at last has asserted his stature and the spell of his "inferiority" and fear has been broken. It would be an error, however, to consider the event only as a victory for the Negro people. Democracy is not divisible. May 2 represented not only a profound step forward for the Negro people, but a practical victory for all truly sincere believers in democracy as well; at one and the same time it strengthened the cause of race equality and struck a sharp blow at all bigots.

Frederick Douglas, the Moses of the Negro people, made this profound statement. He said: it was not enough that Abraham Lincoln freed the Negro slaves; far more important was it that they free themselves. The years that have passed have borne out the accuracy of this comment, for despite the symbolic meaning of the Emancipation Proclamation the Negroes in the South have benefited very little from their liberation since the Civil War. Economic, social and legal disabilities have bound them into slavery to their white economic masters as securely as in the days when they were chattels. Their rights as Americans and as citizens always have been flagrantly denied them. There are few places in the South where they freely may exercise their right of franchise. The reactionaries and lynchers will not tolerate voting by Negroes. In many places they appear at the polls on Election Day ostentatiously brandishing guns. Those who are not intimidated in this way are prevented from voting by the infamous "grandfather clause" still in operation in many states. In Miami, for instance, until its repeal by the State Legislature last year, the $1 poll tax disqualified practically all Negroes from voting because their poverty was so appalling.

In previous elections in Miami less than 50 Negroes ever voted. But with all disqualifications removed this year the Negroes of the city were much excited over the prospect of casting a large vote during the May 2 elections for mayor and two city commissioners.

When the Miami Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan heard of this his "superior" white blood began to boil and he ordered a general mobilization of the hooded ghouls. The night before election they piled into some fifty automobiles and invaded the Negro section of the town with blood-curdling yells, threats and obscenities. At every street corner they stopped and placed a large wooden cross. They poured gasoline over it and put fire to it.

The brave knights came well disguised in their melodramatic pillow-cases and shrouds. They also took the precaution of carefully covering their license plates. At every automobile window sat a Klansman ominously displaying to full view an artistically arranged noose. With it came the cheering promise that it was going to be put around the neck of every "nigger" who would dare vote. Alongside one polling place they also strung up a bizzare looking effigy of a man on whose chest they had written in black paint the words: "This Nigger Voted."

Such an incident is very common in the South, but usually when it occurs the Negro population is seized with panic. Men, women, and children rush indoors, hide themselves behind locked doors, put out the lights if it is night time, and desperately try to hush the crying of their terrified children in order not to attract to themselves the fury of the lynch mobs.

But during this witches' Sabbath in Miami the most remarkable thing happened: instead of running away before the Klansmen many of the Negroes remained on the streets and watched the macabre parade in defiant silence.

The Klansmen returned to their homes satisfied that they had "scared the daylight out of those niggers." But what was their incredulity when the following morning they saw long queues of Negroes standing at the polls! There was neither hysteria nor belligerence in their attitude. With the thoughtful determination of all citizens about to do their patriotic duty they quietly awaited their turn to vote. More than a thousand Negroes cast their free vote that day. The Klansmen raged, snarled and sneered just like the Big Bad Wolf in the Three Little Pigs but there was nothing that they could do about it. Against individual Negroes it was very easy to administer "lynch" justice for daring to think that they were as good as white men, but against a united Negro people they remained impotent with rage. May it be said to the credit of the Miami city authorities that they rose patriotically to the occasion. The Mayor called out the entire

police force to protect the Negro citizens from any molestation at the hands of the hooded hoodlums.

This incident fairly electrified the entire nation for nothing is as stirring as the spectacle of a crushed minority valiantly rising up and asserting its humanity and full equality with all other men in the face of the violence and hate of those to whose interest it is that they remain meek.

To all other minority groups in the United States, including the Jews, against whom reaction and fascism are concentrating their brutal attacks, the lesson of May 2 in Miami is inescapable: a united people which refuses to be intimidated, which courageously combines to stand up against onslaught, must in the long run emerge victorious.

NAZI EXTORTION

IT IS WELL KNOWN that hundreds of thousands are languishing in German concentration camps. But it is commonly believed that once a person manages to get out of the Third Reich he is then a free man. This view is far from the truth.

We are in possession of two documents which throw a clear light on this whole question. One of them concerns a Jewish emigrant from Germany who has already settled in the U.S. But the Gestapo, through the local tax officials, have sent him a note to New York demanding that he pay up 1000 marks ($400) in taxes. Nothing is said regarding penalties for non-payment. But woe to his relatives still in Germany if he fails to pay up forthwith. (See photostat).

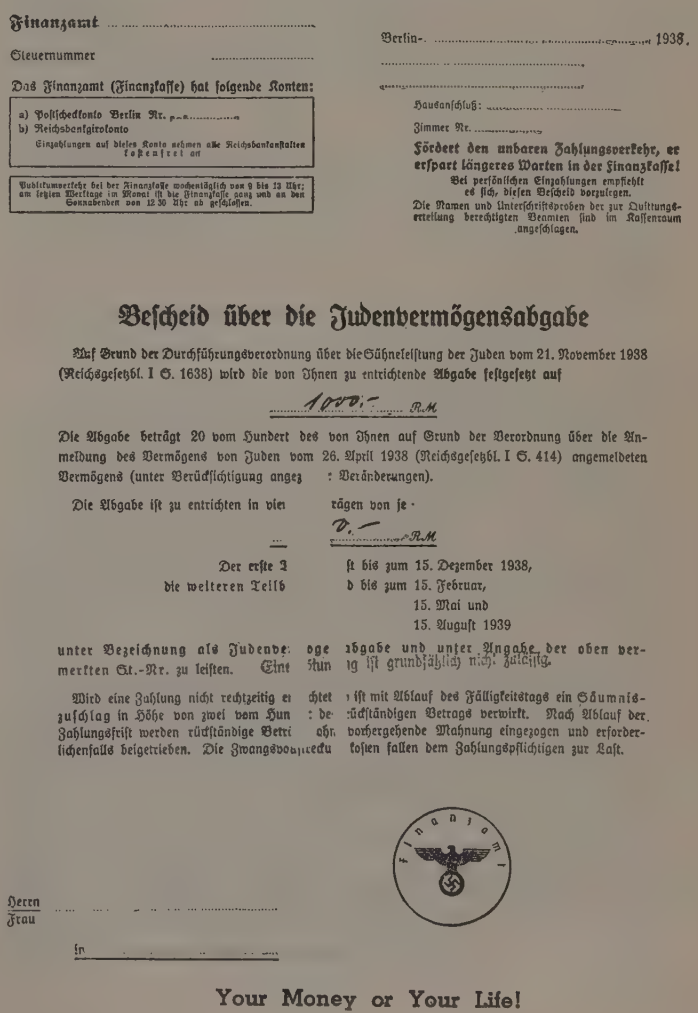
The second document presents an even plainer case of extortion. The incident will appear incredible. The person involved is at present a visitor in this country. He served 4½ years in the Germany army during the World War and was twice wounded. He was badly disabled by the War. He had paid his taxes regularly up to the time he left Germany in 1937. When he sailed he was permitted to take only 10 marks ($4).

Since he is only a visitor in this country he must first go to another country before he can get a permanent visa for the U.S. To do so, it is necessary for him to get a character testimonial from the police of his native land. This would seem an easy matter for he has never been fined; indeed, he has never had any previous dealing with the police.

But when he applied to the Berlin police department for such a character testimonial he got the following reply:

"As a disabled veteran you formerly enjoyed certain tax exemptions along with the rest of the war veterans. Since your departure, however, Jews have been excluded from such favors. We calculate that your tax exemptions for the year amounted to 500 marks. Not until you remit the 500 marks in American money ($200) will we transmit the requested character testimonal."

It would be difficult to find a similar case of blackmail anywhere else in the world outside of Germany. Like the goddess of vengeance in the Greek myth, the Third Reich pursues its victims over borders and over oceans. It doesn't give them respite even when they think that they can manage to find an asylum but, as in the above case, puts every obstacle in the way of their finding a haven of refuge. They even try to extort further sums from those fleeced already in Germany. For how can people who left Germany with 10 marks be in a position to remit hundreds and thousands of marks to Hitler via foreign countries?



Finanzamt .....

Steuernummer .....

Das Finanzamt (Finanzkasse) hat folgende Konten:

a) Postscheckkonto Berlin Nr. .....
b) Reichsbankgirokonto
Einzahlungen auf dieses Konto nehmen alle Reichsbankanstalten kostenfrei an

Publikumsverkehr bei der Finanzkasse wochentäglich von 9 bis 13 Uhr; am letzten Werktage im Monat ist die Finanzkasse ganz und an den Sonnabenden von 12.30 Uhr ab geschlossen.

Berlin, ... 1938.

Hausanschluß: .....

Zimmer Nr. .....

Fördert den unbaren Zahlungsverkehr, er erspart längeres Warten in der Finanzkasse!
Bei persönlichen Einzahlungen empfiehlt es sich, diesen Bescheid vorzulegen.
Die Namen und Unterschriftsproben der zur Quittungserteilung berechtigten Beamten sind im Kassenraum angeschlagen.

Bescheid über die Judenvermögensabgabe

Auf Grund der Durchführungsverordnung über die Sühneleistung der Juden vom 21. November 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1638) wird die von Ihnen zu entrichtende Abgabe festgesetzt auf

1000.- RM

Die Abgabe beträgt 20 vom Hundert des von Ihnen auf Grund der Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden vom 26. April 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 414) angemeldeten Vermögens (unter Verücksichtigung angez : Veränderungen).

Die Abgabe ist zu entrichten in vier rägen von je

D. — RM

Der erste T ist bis zum 15. Dezember 1938,
die weiteren Teilb d bis zum 15. Februar,
15. Mai und
15. August 1939

unter Bezeichnung als Judenab oge bgabe und unter Angabe der oben vermerkten St.-Nr. zu leisten. Eine Stun ng ist grundsätzlich nicht zulässig.

Wird eine Zahlung nicht rechtzeitig e chtet ist mit Ablauf des Fälligkeitstags ein Säumniszuschlag in Höhe von zwei vom Hun : de rückständigen Betrags verwirkt. Nach Ablauf der Zahlungsfrist werden rückständige Betri ahr vorhergehende Mahnung eingezogen und erforderlichenfalls beigetrieben. Die Zwangsvollstreckun kosten fallen dem Zahlungspflichtigen zur Last.

Finanzamt

Herrn
Frau .....

In .....

Your Money or Your Life!

THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OR FATHER COUGHLIN?

AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE

THE MANY RESPONSES to *Equality's* "Open Letter to The Catholic Hierachy" in the May issue, significantly not commented on by any Catholic periodical, have proved how urgent it is to deal with the Catholic question in America. Catholic-baiters ("blood relations of the Jew-baiters") have accused us of being pro-Catholic, whatever that may mean. Many individuals have asked how we can maintain that Catholicism in essence is against anti-Semitism when so many Catholics are taking part in various forms of anti-Semitic activity. We have been complimented by sincere Catholics for clarifying the unmistakable pronouncements by outstanding Catholics against racism and anti-Semitism.

To the multitudes of Americans who are gravely concerned with the activities of Father Coughlin, we say, as Cardinal Mundelein said, that Father Coughlin does not represent the Catholic Church either in doctrine or sentiments. Because Father Coughlin and other anti-Semites are Catholic this should not be generalized into blaming *all* of the Catholics for the Nazi-inspired activities of *some* of them.

That genuine Catholics accept the spirit of Pope Pius XIth's denunciations of anti-Semitism and racism is becoming increasingly clear here in the United States.

The Catholic Bishops of America of the National Catholic Welfare Council stated at their last meeting on April 29, 1939:

> "We regret and deplore the widespread propaganda in the interest of systems and theories antagonistic to the principles of democracy and the teachings of Christianity. A Christian people will oppose these dangerous aberrations with all the might of Christian charity.
>
> "For that very reason our people will be on their guard against all forms of racial bigotry, of which Pope Pius XI, speaking of a pertinent instance, said: 'It is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism.'"

Bishop Mooney, Father Coughlin's superior, was present when this strong condemnation of anti-Semitism was formulated. If this powerful statement of the Catholic Bishops of America were brought to the wide masses of Catholics and *realized in action*, it would prove one of the most effective weapons in counteracting anti-Semitism and race bigotry.

Catholic priests as well as laymen in America are becoming increasingly conscious of the dangers of Jew-baiting and racism advocated by a noisy and organized minority of Catholics. In no unmistakable terms Father Gillis, in the May issue of the *Catholic World* pointed out:

> "And if one may judge from present indications a day is coming when Jews will be lynched in the North like Negroes in the South. . . . We may soon see race warfare between Jews and gentiles in New York. . . . God forbid! But unless the Jew-baiters, some of them clerics, change their tune, blood will be upon their souls. . . ."

Already so-called Christian Front groups in New York are pasting up their obscene stickers calling for Jewish blood in 1940. Hysterical soap-boxers infected by the Coughlin and Pelley brands of race hate threaten open terrorism against the Jews.

No one can question that the Catholics in America are charged by their religious leaders not to take part in anti-Semitism and racism. At the same time, moreover, no one can question that there are certain Catholics, among whom Father Coughlin plays a leading part, who are violating the teaching of the Church and the charge of their religious superiors, and also the principles of democracy. In so doing they are endangering the material and moral life of the large masses of Catholics in the United States. Inciting such hatred can only beget hatred from which the whole population suffers.

Non-Catholics have no desire to meddle in the internal affairs of the Catholic Church in America. All men of decency and morality, however, are charged with the responsibility of defending all religious and racial groups in America wherever the threat may come from. The activities of Father Coughlin have long ceased to be an exclusive problem of the Catholic Church. Father Coughlin, who takes the liberty to attack non-Catholics and to propagate fascist theories, must face the responsibility and consequences of his activity. He must be

made to face the criticism, condemnation and opposition of all those who are for democracy.

With the demagogy so similar to the distasteful propaganda of the Nazis from which he takes so much, Father Coughlin claims that he is not an anti-Semite. In the face of his repeated attacks against the Jews, who is Father Coughlin trying to fool? Certainly not the Jews. By this ruse Father Coughlin is evading his Catholic duty to combat anti-Semitism. This cheap subterfuge, he hopes, will enable him to practice his anti-Semitism without being labeled an anti-Semite. He may even tell his superiors and Catholics "I am not an anti-Semite," but the facts expose such camouflage. There have been many wolves in sheeps' clothing, and hypocrites have been castigated more than once by the Founder of Christianity.

Is it out of friendship for the Jews that Father Coughlin reprints sections from the most notorious anti-Semitic forgery, recognized as such by Catholic writers, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion?" Is Father Coughlin non-partisan in saying "we merely assert that according to the Talmud the Jewish people are forced to actions which create the inevitable friction which causes such cruel persecutions." (*Social Justice*, Dec. 12, 1938). Does Father Coughlin think that by the phrase "cruel persecutions" intelligent people will be duped into believing that his crocodile tears flow from a sympathetic heart? The clever phrasing covers up a sinister meaning. Father Coughlin blames the Jews for anti-Semitism. Does not every known fascist and anti-Semite say that certain qualities of the Jews justify their being persecuted? Why must there be inevitable friction between Jew and Gentile? There needn't be, unless one subscribes to the anti-Semitic theory that Jews are inferior or that Jews display objectionable characteristics which must "inevitably" arouse the wrath of the non-Jewish world. No matter how loudly Father Coughlin shouts "I am not an anti-Semite" his organ, *Social Justice*, and his radio speeches prove his anti-Semitism repeatedly.

When Father Coughlin mouths the vicious myth that Jews control finance, is he merely expressing an opinion? Today such opinions have their source in fascist lies. Anyone at all interested in the Jewish question can easily avail himself of the study made by the editors of *Fortune* magazine and the rich body of literature which has proved and proved again that Jews play a minor part in international finance. These studies show that the majority of Jews, workers, professionals and middle class people, share the fate of the majority of Americans. Such studies disprove the false charges in *Social Justice* that Jews control radio, press, and other agencies of public opinion.

But Father Coughlin, it has been proved time and again, prefers to use Nazi sources rather than the objective material prepared by economists and sociologists. The monstrous lie, reiterated in *Social Justice*, of "a united Jewish front to overthrow the Christian's idea of family, government, law, property, morals and religion" identifies all anti-Semites. We who have been impressed by Christian utterances know how un-Christian this is.

Father Coughlin's fascist anti-Semitism does not endanger the Jews alone. Strange as this may seem to a large number of Catholics, Father Coughlin is a menace to the Catholic people. The Catholics in the United States are a minority and already there is a growing anti-Catholic literature as vicious as any of the anti-Semitic propaganda.

What kind of social justice does Father Coughlin advocate in boasting that "practically all the 16 principles of *Social Justice* are being put into practice in Italy and in Germany?" Do these principles of *Social Justice* explain the persecution of Catholics and members of all religious denominations in the Nazi and Fascist countries? Is that why Father Coughlin is praised by the Nazis who have so vilified priests in their own states?

But Father Coughlin's defense of the Nazi and Fascist régimes, where Catholics are persecuted, is as dangerous as his failure to heed the instructions of the Pope and the American Bishops against anti-Semitism. It is shocking indeed to hear a Catholic priest enunciating doctrines so anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and profoundly un-American, that go against the teachings of the Pope and the Bill of Rights.

We call upon American Catholics to cooperate with all democratically-minded Americans to combat the anti-democratic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Semitic forces in the United States. We urge Catholics especially to repudiate those fascists who are trying to utilize the Catholic Church as a shield for their un-Christian principles and activities.

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HALL OF FAME

FATHER JOHN M. COOPER

For a distinguished Catholic contribution to the fight against racism and anti-Semitism we nominate *Father John M. Cooper,* head of the Anthropology Department of Catholic University, Washington, D. C., to *Equality's* Hall of Fame, for heading the committee which introduced the following resolution at the last conference of the American Anthropological Association.

The resolution was unanimously approved by the 280 members in attendance, representing 1,100 anthropologists in America:

"Whereas the prime requisites of science are the honest and unbiased search for truth and the freedom to proclaim such truth when discovered and known, and

Whereas, anthropology in many countries is being conscripted and its data distorted and misinterpreted to serve the cause of an unscientific racialism rather than the cause of truth:

BE IT RESOLVED, that the American Anthropological Association repudiates such racialism and adheres to the following statement of facts:

1. Race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by large groups of mankind, but its psychological and cultural connotations, if they exist, have not been ascertained by science.

2. The terms Aryan and Semitic have no racial significance whatsoever. They simply denote linguistic families.

3. Anthropology provides no scientific basis for discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority, religious affiliation, or linguistic heritage."

The popularization of this resolution passed by leading American scientists of all faiths should do much to counteract the vicious "race" myths circulated by the fascists in America.

At a time when Father Coughlin deliberately spreads the discredited "race" thinking of the Nazis and bigots, it is heartening to witness a prominent American Catholic introducing an irrefutable denunciation of racism.

To Father John M. Cooper and the American Anthropological Association *Equality* bids welcome and urges further achievements in this significant direction.

HALL OF SHAME

WILLIAM (Copperhead) GUGGENHEIM

William Guggenheim, the copper magnate, is seventy years old. How much longer can he reasonably expect to live? Maybe five, maybe ten years. But he certainly cannot live forever. For many years he was the active head of the Guggenheim mining and smelting interests in Mexico. He must have made a lot of money in his day. But somehow he seems to be afraid.

Now take the Jewish bankers and industrialists in Germany. Under the Second Reich they spent sleepless nights worrying about the same thing. So, together with the "Aryans" Thyssen, Siemens and Krupp, they fell upon the sly stratagem of overthrowing the Republic and bringing Hitler into power. They lavishly supplied Der Fuehrer with funds in order that he might bring Der Tag nearer. And finally, when it came the Horst Wessel promise was fulfilled: Jewish blood flowed in rivers and the heart of the Jewish people broke. But what did this matter to Hitler's Jewish collaborators? As long as their money was safe. To be sure, out of gratitude Hitler made them "Honorary Aryans." But after a while he forgot all about it and took their money away.

And now William Guggenheim thinks he is going to play possum with the fascists and for the same reason. The disastrous experiences of his Jewish fellow-nabobs in Germany have taught him nothing. Is it possible that he is one of those Jews of whom it is said: "When you spit in his face he thinks it is raining?" He has become one of the trustees of the Italy-America Society, one of Italian fascism's propaganda agencies in this country. The fact that Mussolini persecutes the Jews in Italy is none of his business; copper is his business. Neither is it any of his business if the Nazis are trying to annihilate hundreds of thousands of Jews in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. It has not prevented him from sending an ecstatic cablegram to both Hitler and Mussolini, which, according to the N. Y. *Herald-Tribune* of April 26, concluded with the words: "I send this as an admirer of the intelligence, thrift and industry of your people and *particularly in admiration of your marvelous leadership.*"

Who can tell! Mr. Guggenheim may yet become an "Honorary Aryan."

CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN AMERICA

JAMES A. MILLER

THE WAGNER-ROGERS REFUGEE bill, which would permit the entry of 20,000 refugee children to the United States in the next two years, has been reported favorably out of Committee. Congress will undoubtedly vote on it this session.

Hundreds of thousands of voters will watch their Congressmen's vote on this bill. In each congressional district the leaders of the Jewish community will make it a point of communicating to their people the verdict of their own congressman, and in turn pass verdict on him.

There is not a Congressman but knows this, who has not already weighed the consequences to himself of a favorable or negative vote on the Wagner-Rogers bill, estimated the voting strength of the Jews in his constituency and their influence on other voters; weighed, too, the votes he might lose against those he might gain.

But what will finally determine the Congressman's decision will be his estimate of the tactical value of his vote, pro or con, on this one bill, in advancing the general national strategy of his party or clique. Though he might be personally or on principle opposed to the measure, it might be tactically "wise," opportunistically sensible, for him to vote "aye." The economic, social or national composition of his district, its progressiveness or backwardness, the degree to which the New Deal has been booed or applauded, to which the majority of the people in his district are in a stage of increasing unity or disunity — all these will be taken carefully into consideration. For he knows, as unfortunately so many of his constituents do not, that the very next day, on the floor or in committee, he can more than nullify his "aye" vote on the Refugee bill. He can wipe it out of existence: or leave it a hollow shell, should it become law, by his vote in committee or on the floor on at least two score of other measures still before Congress.

It can be delightfully worthwhile to one of our pro-Hitlerite Senators or Representatives to be hailed as a friend of the Jews in certain areas of the country. It might make it possible for him to confuse the Jewish voters as he votes against repeal or amendment of the existing Neutrality Act or for the Burke or Walsh amendments to the Wagner Labor Act, for emasculation of WPA or downward revision of taxes. Yet, let the Jewish people who dread the possible advent of Hitlerism in America make no mistake: the Senator or Congressman who will vote against repeal or amendment of the Neutrality Act, or for emasculation of the Wagner Labor Act, is a profounder enemy of the Jewish people than he who might take the Wagner Refugee bill casually but follows President Roosevelt's policies on Neutrality revision and on the rights of labor. That this fact might go against the grain of certain groups among the Jews is indeed unfortunate. But it is *the* fact that propelled Hitler into power in Central Europe.

It is a fact that has now crossed the ocean on the Bremen and Rex, potted in the bosoms of such men as Senators Reynolds and Vandenberg, Herbert Hoover, Congressman Dies, to name only a few of the importers — and that has gradually become the main strategic line of the die-hards in the 76th Congress. And that strategy can be generalized as follows by any intelligent study of the Congressional Record:

Concede wherever necessary to the minor, immediate interests of certain groups in such a way that these interests can be made to clash with those of others; will divide, extend and perpetuate disunities and prejudices, create political astigmatisms and eventually raise vast barriers to unity among the national electorate. Through these blinkered and divided ranks of the people drive roughshod your double-pronged wedge of isolation in foreign policy and a return to Republican-type conservatism in domestic policy.

The Machiavellianism of this strategy might not be easily perceptible to the politically inexperienced. Yet no Congressman, whether he is conscious of it or not, is a free lance in his politics. He can't be and still remain a Congressman. He either sides with or is part of a group motivated by definite policies. Directing or decisively influencing each of these congressional groups there is one of the two main political camps in our country: the New Deal progressives who believe that our present democratic institutions can and should be maintained and extended: the anti-New Deal conservatives who

say that the country's economy demands the curbing of those democratic phases of our life that of late have been increasingly used by the people to organize themselves against economic, social and natural vicissitudes.

Yet the last twenty years have chiseled an axiom into the flesh of the peoples of Europe: The anti-Semite hates democracy more than he does the Jews. Anti-Semitism is always a flank attack against democracy.

Who can deny this? What Jew? At what were the pogroms of the Black Hundreds directed in 1905 when the Russian people had just awakened to demand a Duma. At what was Hitler striking when in the eight years before he came to power his propaganda (as our Father Coughlin's) was directed against the Jews while he promised socialism to the workers and prosperity to the small business men? At what is Mussolini striking when he fervently rallies 40 million Italians after 16 years of "blessed" Fascism, against a pitiful handful of Italian Jews? What else but democracy!

HITLERITE STRATEGY IN THE U. S. A.

And today, at least, the four and a half million Jews in the United States, watching their 76th Congress, must ask themselves this question and answer it — quickly and realistically. What are those Congressmen who have introduced some 90 anti-alien bills in the House and Senate in the past few months trying to do? Whom are they really trying to attack? In the answer to this curt question they will find the key to the methods of their own defense.

Is the Hitler strategy being tried out in the United States? It certainly is. There is no doubt whatever about it now. It is sufficient to consider the legislative programs of a certain block of congressmen to realize the dangerous reality of the threat.

Senator Reynolds of North Carolina has not only visited Hitler; he has powerful pro-Hitler allies within and outside of Congress. His friendly feelings towards Fritz Kuhn and his sympathies for Father Coughlin are known. He and a group of his political allies in Congress have made themselves the "anti-alien" contingent, holding the right flank for the anti-New Deal forces in the legislative battlefield. With Representative Starnes of Alabama paralleling him in the House, he has introduced a bill that would make unemployment a crime for aliens, punishable by deportation (S.410). He would cut all immigration quotas to 10 per cent of the present rate (S.330) and extend our quota system to Canada and Latin America (S.408).

WHAT DO "ANTI-ALIEN" BILLS MEAN?

These bills, among others introduced by Reynolds, are the tails to the kites of such notorious measures as the Dempsey bill (HR 4806) which was passed in the house by a sneaky parliamentary trick and the Hobbs Concentration Camp bill (HR 4768) which has been reported out favorably by the Immigration Committee of the House. The Dempsey bill proposes, on the surface, merely to deport any alien advocating any kind of change in our form of government. But the bill is so worded that it could be used to deport *any* alien who expressed *any* kind of democratic opinion. It would force any organization or union in which there was even one alien either never to mention a word of politics or expel its alien members. Thus the chief purpose of the Dempsey bill is to cripple the political power of the mass organizations of the people, religious, fraternal or trade union by forcing them to refrain from taking any position on political matters. Dempsey and his backers know very well that they will not turn against any of their own members who are not citizens through no fault of their own.

The Hobbs bill is twin brother to the Dempsey bill, since it would intern, in concentration camps set up in the United States, the aliens Dempsey would deport, but whose native countries refused to accept them. Thus an alien who had committed no crime whatsoever, but who for one reason or another could not return to his native country (Germany, Austria, Hungary, etc.) would be imprisoned on American soil if he ardently advocated democracy.

Congressman Dies of Texas, the Chairman of the Investigating Committee that promised a thorough investigating of the fascists, but nine-tenths of whose report was given over to smearing the New Deal with communism, has introduced a bill (HR 4905) "for the exclusion and expulsion of alien fascists and communists." Curiously, the bill's definition of "fascist" is extremely limited: but its definition of "communist" includes almost anyone with progressive tendencies.

What has this to do with anti-Semitism? It *is* anti-Semitism, in practice: and exactly as Hitler's

parliamentarians in the German Reich practiced it before the deluge.

Yet that is only half of the answer. The vitriolic torrents of hate and murder that Hitler poured against the Jews, squirted poison and ruin throughout the whole body of the German nation. It was a flank attack, mobilizing decay and war while demobilizing German democracy. With its success Hitler was able to advance on the German people as a whole and destroy the things he really wanted to destroy — not the Jews, the Jewish people or any people cannot be destroyed — but the ever-increasing strength of the people's organized democracy. Hitler's main attack was against the trade unions, the churches, the people's fraternal and cultural organizations, the small business men's and farmers' organizations that were fighting the Junkers.

The above anti-alien bills — and we have mentioned only a few — and the opposition being engendered in the streets and in Congress to the Wagner Refugee bill — are the writing on the wall. But the main attack that, if successful, will engulf American Jewry, is preparing its ground elsewhere, hoping that the people will not see it for the anti-Semitic, anti-alien smoke-screen.

THE MAIN ATTACK AGAINST DEMOCRACY

How does it happen that Congressman Ludlow, the spokesman for "neutrality" and isolation, the pacifist darling of our "soft" liberals, is the father of an anti-alien bill (HR 163) that would deport aliens who would induce the U. S. to favor one or more belligerents in a foreign war, other than through "legitimate exercise of free speech." Why would Mr. Ludlow have it that those "alien" Jews who have escaped Hitler's terror must not, in the United States, organize against him, must not be, in body as well as mind, anti-Hitlerites. Is it not extremely advisable, at least for Jewish voters, to turn from his anti-alien bill and examine closely Mr. Ludlow's neutrality program, which the President has advisedly called "un-neutral?"

Why is it that almost every one of the introducers of anti-alien bills is a member of the anti-New Deal clique of Garner-Cox-Dies-Reynolds in the Democratic Party — the group that has combined on almost every issue of national importance with the Hoover-Taft-Vandenberg leadership of the Republican Party? One will always find a stray sheep who has momentarily lost his tag, but the main lines of demarcation streak across the pages of the Congressional Record.

Senator Taft, Bruce Barton, Hamilton Fish, James W. Wadsworth are the most influential figures in the Republican Party, its top leadership. Examine their votes and statements on Neutrality, WPA, the Wagner Act, and Social Security legislation. It will be much more significant than all of Coughlin's rantings. They are the organizers, the strategists of reaction in the United States.

The men who are fighting anti-Semitism *in all its manifestations* in this country are the men who are fighting for the maintenance and extension of the New Deal. Look at the record. Senator Wagner, the introducer of the Refugee bill is a guiding light to all for whom democracy's continuance is a matter of life and death. And for him the main issues today are the prevention of any crippling of labor's power to organize through Tory amendments of the Wagner Act; the extension of the country's Social Security laws and government work-aid to the unemployed; the increasing liberation of the Negro people of the South through passage of the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill, and the physical and social welfare of the people through passage of the Wagner Health bill. Behind him and behind his program stands the President. The American Jew who would prevent it from happening here has no alternative. If he insists on choosing to fight only against overt manisfestations of anti-Semitism he is merely deciding which one of his major limbs he wishes to have amputated. If he does not want to be destroyed by the anti-Semitic flank attack, he must at once establish organizational unity on the legislative battlefield, not only within the ranks of his own people, but with the American people as a whole: with those against whom the present legislative war is being waged. With organized labor, first and foremost; with those who are fighting the Hitler-befriending isolationists in our foreign policy so that the United States shall be on the side of the victims of aggression against the aggressors; with the New Dealers who would extend and deepen the Social Security laws of the country, thus establishing a base for unity of the people — a base which the Republican-and-Garner-Democrats must seek to blast if they are to bring about the disunity that alone could help them win the 1940 elections.

The lesson must be learnt quickly, or it will be too late: anti-Semitism is a flank attack against democracy.

WORLD AND MAN

PRINCE HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN

The Personal Views of a Noted German Catholic Refugee.

THIS COLUMN WILL deal with world affairs as they present themselves to a German who is a citizen of the world because he is a Catholic. Among the main problems of world affairs, as they are shaped by man, the question of war will rank highest for a long time to come. In fact, no other question is equally prominent in our daily newspapers, and in the planning of the next months. For the statesmen of the various countries who see beyond the smokescreen of diplomatic manoeuvres instigated by the opposing blocs and ideologically motivated groups, the question of the peace which may follow the close of international hostilities is paramount.

That the rôle of the United States will in this connection be of paramount importance requires no further proof. America embraces "a nation of nations," with sentiments and responsibilities for all. It is the country of the very principle of Democracy — and as we are told that it is this principle we are called upon to defend it is only natural that the democrats of all nations are turning towards the United States. It is natural, too, that the United States should have a legitimate claim to know the game the Great Powers of Europe are playing.

The American people with whom I have come in touch for many years and in practically every part of the Union are certainly well aware of the defeat they were forced to accept during the conference of Versailles. Fifty thousand Americans died in a war "to make the world safe for democracy" — and then came a treaty which strangled the young German State as soon as it had shaken off the shackles of its monarchies. No one can be astonished, therefore, at the reluctance to be again made responsible for events, over which America may lose control once more and work against the ideological foundation of this country.

While we know that the German, the French, the English and all other peoples share the American love for freedom and liberal institutions, the same can certainly not be said of those who for the moment determine the policy of the Western Powers and will want to determine the forms of States in Central Europe.

As long as it was humanly possible, these statesmen, financiers and socialites in Great Britain have helped Adolf Hitler in every practical way. The Naval Agreement of 1935 with the Nazis, which threw aside the principle of collective security and collective protection against aggression, the policy of "Non-Intervention" in the face of fascist intervention in Spain, and finally Munich, are the markingstones of that walk of shame which led Hitler to the seizure of a large part of Europe. If he would just leave British interests alone — in the Balkans, Asia Minor and Africa — he would still have nothing to fear, much as he tramples upon the German and other peoples and any rule of Divine and human law. He would again and again find friends in England, who consider him an important bulwark of monopoly capitalism and a safeguard against the democratic and social awakening of Central Europe.

Those who distrust English policy are therefore completely justified, and it is only too understandable for me, that America does not want to become, again, the tool of British self-interest.

Yet, even a power which does not act from moral conviction may by fate and circumstances be entrusted with an historic task of moral content. The "Stop Hitler" policy, which England finally had to adopt, certainly belongs to this category and ought to be endorsed regardless of England's past record. Since, as to stop Hitler effectively will mean to overthrow him in due course, any man or State, taking part in the Stop Hitler movement should inquire about the probable successors to Germany's present masters.

For German democrats the question is simple enough: they are fighting for a new Republic, with Christian tolerance and justice within, and for a foreign policy of peace and international good-will. It will be a republic, in which the democratic idea will be applied also to the economic and social life of the nation. All territories inhabited by non-Germans and occupied during the years of the Third Reich will immediately be restored to national independence.

There is increasing anxiety lately about the freedom of decision of the German people. News has

reached us about the extreme activity of the agents of the former German dynasties, the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns and others. In Paris and London they are busily at work trying to convince political, social and financial leaders that only a restoration of the monarchies will . . . perhaps they do not say it in so many words, but what they mean is "will make the world safe against democracy," at least in its more progressive social form. What is more serious is, that these agents have already found many a willing ear, especially in London, where the sterilization of the coming democratic German revolution is envisaged under the form of reactionary and manifold princely rules.

If this plot should materialize into action — with or without war, but more likely after it — the world would again be where it was in 1914 and all the sacrifices of blood and freedom will have been in vain.

There is an inalienable right inherent in the nature of peoples: the Right to Democracy. The peoples must be free to determine their own form of state and to work out the best way of governing themselves. It is the same right which makes dictatorship an immoral institution, and which makes it an international crime for foreign nations to impose their will upon other nations.

The United States should make it clear beyond doubt, that it will insist on the guarantee of the Right of Democracy for all the peoples, against the despotic rulers whose aim is to destroy Democracy. No armaments or other aid should be put at the disposal of the Western Powers, without a solemn declaration, that the United States does not want a repetition of 1914 and even less a partition of Europe into unwanted monarchies which would suit only the interests of the imperialist class of Great Britain and France.

The right to democracy implies also the right of equality for all citizens of a country and denies privileges or inferior status based upon race, creed or class. In the international field its recognition is imperative in order to vest the democratic powers with that moral authority which will be needed in the coming struggles.

Before autumn comes the outward consolidation of the two opposing blocs in Europe will have been completed. Though war is not in the cards yet, the possibility of its outbreak during the next few months must be considered. Yet in the opinion of many, war can still be avoided altogether — it could be avoided by a policy of international collaboration and a moral sincerity beyond reproach on the part of the democracies.

While it is a difficult undertaking to unify the democratic bloc, the unification of the *people* of the fascist countries is impossible. They are ruled by terror; they know that they are asked to fight only to maintain a régime which they hate. Therefore millions who are living under fascism and nazism are really on the democratic side of the fence and this should give the democracies the upper hand.

Not even from a "realist" point-of-view is there any need of backing down during the summer on the Polish question, as England and France backed down last year over Hitler's aggression against Czechoslovakia. And there is no reason to doubt, that in the end democracy will be victorious everywhere — as long as democracy is not betrayed by its own statesmen. If the German and Italian peoples knew, that once they have rid themselves of their dictators, an era of international justice and national democracy may begin, their revolutionary impulse would receive additional strength, and the danger of war would diminish.

Not to be bluffed by Hitler's and Mussolini's speeches, whether they contain threats or whether they use persuasion, is all the wisdom the next months will require. And that the present dictatorships might not be supplanted by puppet governments of a reactionary nature is up to the United States, which more than any other country in the world is in the position to lay down the rules of democratic morals and of international equality.

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THE ANTI-JEWISH LAWS IN HUNGARY

J. FLAVIUS

THE INTRODUCTION into Hungary of the Nürnberg anti-Jewish laws was completed last month. Three hundred and fifty thousand Jews are thereby deprived of jobs and citizenship.

Within the ruling circles of Hungary an uncommonly stubborn fight was waged over the issuance of these laws. (We needn't concern ourselves at this point with the attitude of the masses, for they have for a long time been shut out from any active participation in governmental and State affairs.) The Imredy Cabinet fell because of a split on the anti-Jewish legislation. Count Bethlen, the organizer of the Hungarian counter-revolution of 1919 and for over ten years the head of the government, has withdrawn from political life, owing to disgruntlement over these laws. His example was followed by dozens of leaders in the political and economic life of Hungary.

In view of these facts, the question naturally arises who then was responsible for the passage of this legislation? Some observers would explain the new laws as being a mere continuation of the policies of the victorious counter-revolution of 1919. They point to the fact that in 1919-20 Hungary witnessed a tremendous wave of pogroms and that certain legal restrictions on Jews were enacted at the time. But this is a decidedly superficial view of the matter.

The above view fails to give a satisfactory answer to the following questions: (1) Why was there no further infringement on Jewish rights in the two following decades? (2) Why is it that the very person who headed the counter-revolutionary government in 1919, Count Stephen Bethlen, has been the sharpest critic of the latest anti-Jewish legislation? (3) Why is it that the most vigorous protest has come precisely from those social groups who have ruled Hungary almost uninterruptedly up to a short time ago, viz. the Aristocracy and Big Business?

In order properly to meet these questions, it is necessary, first of all, to give a brief sketch of the Jews in the Hungary from 1919 until the Munich pact. Hungary had been a part of the Hapsburg Empire for over 400 years. In 1848 the Hungarians tried to win complete independence but Franz Joseph, with the aid of the Czar's troops, put down the rebellion ruthlessly in 1849. It was not until 1866, when the Austrian army was badly beaten by the Prussians that the Hapsburgs found themselves compelled to grant Hungary national independence within the framework of the Empire.

Hungary had been oppressed. For example, Latin and to some extent German were the dominant languages in government bureaus, schools and army. But when national independence was won, Hungarian became the recognized language in schools and in public institutions. Accordingly, the new State required a staff of officials, teachers and officers who knew Hungarian. The Jews, who were an urban, literate group, were largely drawn upon to furnish this vital element for the new Hungarian State. For Hungary was then a thoroughly agrarian country in which over 90% of the population was illiterate.

Between 1867 and the outbreak of the World War, Hungary made tremendous cultural advances. There arose a network of schools and universities. A national theatre and press were developed. In every phase of this national renaissance the Jews played a leading role.

In these circumstances, obviously, a large section of Hungarian Jewry belonged to the upper social strata of the country. A great percentage of them were writers, physicians, university teachers, journalists, lawyers, judges, etc. Furthermore, the Jews were the pioneers of industry in what was then a predominantly agricultural country. Manfred Weiss, the founder of Hungary's greatest metal and munitions works, is a Jew. The tempo of Jewish assimilation in Hungary in the decades before the war was extremely rapid, in fact it went far beyond that in any other country.

This whole process was altered radically by the consequences of the World War. By the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary lost almost two-thirds of its territory. The inhabitants of these lost territories were almost exclusively Slovaks, Ruthenians, Roumanians and South Slavs. Under the rule of the Hungarian aristocracy, these peoples had been practically devoid of political rights. Consequently, Hungarian intellectuals and professionals had earned their living from these peoples. Now, as a result of the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary had a super-

fluity of intellectuals. Hungarian officials, doctors, lawyers, etc., who had earned a living in the lost territories, were now out in the cold. This situation was the main cause of the wave of anti-Semitism that took place in Hungary in 1919-20. For the first time in Hungary's existence the native intellectuals viewed the Jews as their competitors, for their field of operations had been reduced by two-thirds owing to the Treaty of Trianon.

Hungarian anti-Semitism in 1919-20 was therefore not a direct consequence of the revolution and counter-revolution. For, as can be readily seen from our picture of the social status of Hungarian Jewry, the labor movement had little connection with them, even though several Jews had played a leading part in the revolutionary struggle. Naturally, anti-Semitism was used by the counter-revolution as a lighting rod. The common people were demanding the division of the big estates. The counter-revolution tried to deflect the masses from these demands by inciting them to pogroms.

Hungary was in a desperate economic situation at that period. In losing Transylvania it had lost the major part of its mining and industrial districts. The Jews then attempted, through hard and persistent work, to build up new industrial centers within the altered boundaries of Hungary. The undertaking, throughout the next two decades, proved more or less successful. Gradually, the manufacture of the most necessary articles of consumption was developed within the new Hungary and stabilized.

The founders and owners of these new factories are Jews. Consequently, the position of the Jews of Hungary became fairly stable once the post-war anti-Semitic wave had subsided. In fact, anti-Semitism faded out almost completely. True, the Exceptional laws against Jews, for example, the Numerus Clausus for students, were not rescinded. But the Jews could carry on without restrictions in the fields of industry and commerce. Indeed, they were encouraged to do so, for the Jews are a productive element in the country and vital to its economic well-being.

The Nürnberg laws, which came to life in the Third Reich, naturally stirred up a measure of anti-Semitism in Hungary as well. But it only became serious when the Third Reich supported this propaganda financially and even, as in the case of other neighboring states, sent emissaries to Hungary, to act as the apostles of anti-Semitism. A Nazi party sprang up in Hungary which was more or less directly led by Berlin. But this party, which has been outlawed, didn't manage to root itself firmly in the land. It can hardly be said that this party's anti-Semitic preachments found any ready response among the masses of the population.

This situation changed noticeably as soon as the Third Reich began its economic penetration of Hungary. To an even larger extent the Reich became a customer for Hungary's wheat and cattle. When Austria was annexed by Hitler's army, the Third Reich became Hungary's chief export outlet. The Reich began to dictate to Hungary the sorts of grains she was to plant. Indeed, the whole process of Hungarian economy began to be influenced by the Reich. But a severe difficulty came to light. The Third Reich is very ready to purchase products but the Nazis are not ready to pay for them. They do not have the ready cash to pay for purchased farm products.

Obviously, therefore, the factories which have been built up in the neighboring lands of Germany and especially within Hungary during the past decades, are a thorn in the side of the Reich. The Reich began a campaign against the industries of Hungary. Of course, an uncamouflaged campaign wouldn't be exactly popular within Hungary. And so, instead of using the word industry, the Reich used the word Jew. The leading circles of Hungary understood full well the intent of the campaign. The aim of the Reich was to destroy Hungarian manufacturing by means of legislation against the Jews. For such legislation would spell ruin to the owners and directors of Hungarian industry. The leaders of Hungary combatted these sly attempts to throw their country back into the stage of a purely agricultural country economically dependent on the Third Reich. The Imredy government fell because of this issue. Count Teleki originally came to the helm to hinder the passing of anti-Jewish legislation. But when the Third Reich, through its occupation of Czechoslovakia, had surrounded Hungary with a ring of steel, the Hungarian government gave up the struggle. It adopted the anti-Jewish program and thereby passed a death verdict on its manufacturing industry.

It is clear and unmistakable, therefore, that the movement against the Jews is reactionary, not only politically, but industrially as well. For, in the last analysis, it means nothing less than the political and economic enslavement of Middle and Southeastern Europe by the Third Reich.

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